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THE SANPOIL AND NESPELEM:

Salishan Peoples of Northeastern Washington

by

VERNE F. RAY

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Salishan Peoples of Northeastern Washington

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Bob Covington

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PREFACE

The Sanpoil and Nespelem, like other Indians of the north central Plateau, never became parties to any treaty with the United States. They were virtually ignored by the government and have been accorded little attention by others. They remained in their old habitats and lived their old life, despite encroachments by whites, until 1872. At that time a reservation was set aside for them and they were gradually concentrated upon it. The original bounds of the reservation were the Columbia river on the south and the east, the international boundary on the north and the Okanogan river on the west. Subsequently the northern half of this area was subtracted. The remaining natives still occupy the southern half.

The present study was begun in the summer of 1928; the expenses of that trip were defrayed by myself. Several subsequent visits were made, the last during the summer of 1930. All of these were under the auspices of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Washington.

A number of myths and folk tales were obtained in conjunction with the ethnographic material. They are being published independently in the Journal of American Folk-Lore. Material also was gathered relating to a native messianic movement called the Kolsakin Cult. This data likewise has not been included here but is being prepared as a separate paper which will probably appear as a journal article.

In late 1930 there appeared *The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus*, in which Franz Boas compiled and edited the material gathered by James A. Teit many years earlier (1904, 1908, 1909). Teit treats the Sanpoil rather more summarily than most of the other groups he visited, yet he has a considerable amount of data of specifically Sanpoil origin. His work was not available in time for me to use it in the field. I have made but few item references to Teit's treatment for complete cross-referencing would have necessitated an objectionable number of footnotes. Moreover, in seeking information regarding these peoples both sources should always be consulted. Our information is at variance in several instances.

I wish here to express my gratitude to Dr. Erna Gunther for her help and kindness. I am also greatly indebted to Dr. Melville Jacobs for initial encouragement and continued stimulation. My further thanks are extended to Dr. Leslie Spier, to my wife and to many friends for assistance and suggestions. Mr. George Neville Jones and Martha Reekie Flahaut exerted painstaking efforts in identifying botanical specimens. Mr. Albert L. Seeman kindly placed at my disposal original meteorologic data.

The phonetic system here used is that recommended in the report of a committee of the American Anthropological Association entitled *Phonetic Transcription of American Indian Languages* (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 66, No. 6, 1916), with the single exception that the Greek symbol gamma (γ) is

[1 + 2 blank]

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114 used to indicate the voiced spirant in *velar* position (rather than mid-palatal, as
194 recommended). This should cause no confusion for the corresponding mid-palatal sound is absent from the Sanpoil phonetic system.

101 To avoid ambiguity I have not translated a few of the group names where there is no accepted usage. These are: sməqaie'tkᵘ, the bands on the lower Okanogan river and vicinity, (called Sinkaietk by Walters); sməká'lt, the people on the lower Spokane river (these have been called the Lower Spokane, but they are not affiliated with the true Spokane); and st'ske'tamixᵘ, a Wenatchi group six miles downriver from the present town of Wenatchee.

114 Throughout the first half of the paper the anecdotal material has been set in eight point type; in the second half, in ten point solid type. This change in style was necessitated by printing limitations. The numerous native names in the latter portion, requiring special characters, could be printed only in ten point type.

115 Three informants, John Tom, Bob Covington and William Burke, gave the bulk of the information here presented. John Tom was a shaman, the most prominent man in his profession and the foremost leader among his people in early reservation days. Tom was born about 1840 at Barry, on the Columbia river, as was his mother. His father was born near the present town of Lincoln, also on the Columbia. The old life was little disturbed before Tom reached manhood. He saw his first white man when an adolescent. While John was very young his father died of smallpox, probably the epidemic of 1846. But his mother lived to a very old age. John was the youngest of four boys and two girls, all of whom he outlived. He died on March 1, 1930, aged ninety or more years, the oldest member of his group. He had never learned English. Much further information about John Tom is scattered through the following pages.

Bob Covington was a sober, intelligent half-breed, well respected by his people. For many years he served as Indian policeman and interpreter for his people in dealings with the government. He was a willing worker and exceedingly obliging and hospitable. He interpreted for John Tom, and furnished much information himself. Covington died in July, 1930, at the age of about sixty-five.

William Burke, also a half-breed, was a younger man, perhaps forty-five (in 1930). His mother was still living and from her he got most of his information. He was something of an adventurer, which made much of his information the more valuable. Others who contributed information were: Kate Staples, a half-breed about sixty; Jim James, present chief of the Sanpoil; and Burke's mother.

Seattle, 1932

VERNE F. RAY

INTRODUCTION

The term Sanpoil is a French corruption of the native name (snpui'lux^{w}) of the people who lived at the confluence of the Sanpoil and Columbia rivers. Other early renderings were Sans Poil, San Poil and Sanpoell. Nespelem, likewise, was derived from a native name (snspi'lsm), that of the people at the mouth of the Nespelem river. Sanpoil has been interpreted as a descriptive name, indicating either that the people were relatively hairless or that they were poor and had no furs to sell to the traders.[1] Any such assumption is definitely in error.

Thus originally the names Sanpoil and Nespelem were applicable only to two definite settlements among the many autonomous groups occupying that portion of the Columbia river. But through subsequent usage by government agents and white traders the names of these two major groups came to be applied to the surrounding peoples as well. The terms, however, were not used consistently or in mutually exclusive senses. Sometimes Sanpoil was meant to include the Nespelem; at other times it was not. The natives themselves have never adopted these designations. A man's nativity is still indicated by the old village group name, consisting of the village name plus a personifying prefix and suffix.

There is, however, a certain justification for grouping together certain villages under a common name for the sake of description. Although politically autonomous, all of the villages from the Nespelem river to Hunters were culturally and dialectically identical. Moreover they formed a definite social unit. They felt far closer ties between one another than between themselves and the people below (snɔdaie'tk^{w}) or the ones above (Colville). Also, the snɔdaie'tk^{w} groups affiliated closely with each other to the exclusion of the up-river villages, and the Colville probably had true tribal organization—at least they had a group name (smoie'lp^{w}).

The two names (Nespelem, Sanpoil) have come into such general use that it was thought best to use both terms in the title of this ethnography. Also there was a certain natural division into these two units. Geographically they were separated by the Sanpoil mountains, a range of hills running north and south along what is now the Perry county-Okanogan county boundary line. For social purposes the division existed also. Important ceremonies were usually observed at both centers. Inhabitants of villages from the Grand Coulee westward ordinarily attended those at Nespelem while the villagers east of that point more commonly went to Sanpoil.

But to avoid awkwardness in presentation I have used throughout the single term Sanpoil to mean both Sanpoil and Nespelem except where otherwise stated.

LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL AFFILIATIONS

The Sanpoil spoke a dialect of Interior Salish and were surrounded by other Salish speaking peoples. All of the neighboring dialects were intelligible to them except Columbia and Spokane. However both of these, especially the former, were known by a great many of the Sanpoil, for intermixture was common.

[1] See for example Symons, *Upper Columbia River*, pages 31-32.

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131 The dialects of the region fall into four subgroups within which only minor
197 variations occur. These divisions were recognized by the Sanpoil themselves and each group was designated by a separate name. It is interesting that the native term for Salish (nsi'lqtcm) was applied only to their own group of dialects. Individual dialects were designated by the name of the people plus the suffix tcm, "speaking." The native linguistic classification follows:

Sanpoil Nespelem Okanogan sməq̓aie'tkᵊ Lakes sməkâ'lt Colville	nsi'lqtcm	Kittitas Yakima Palus Umatilla Cayuse Walula	naiya'kutcm
Columbia Chelan Methow Wenatchi stske'tamixᵊ	nɪ'xwa'mux'tcm	Chewelah Kalispel Spokane	npoke'nixtcm

105 Of the Plateau peoples the Sanpoil were one of the groups least affected by
177 direct influences from other areas. By the time that extraneous cultural innovations filtered through the surrounding peoples they became considerably "leveled down" and the Sanpoil, as a result, possessed no typically foreign culture traits. The horse culture complex is a case in point. From the Plains came this new manner of living and it was taken over almost bodily by the Nez Perce and the Yakima, and to a marked degree by the Columbia. The old life of these peoples is now difficult, indeed, to extricate and disentangle from the made-over culture resulting from this intrusion. We shall probably never have a satisfactory picture of it. But by the time the Sanpoil had been reached by the reverberations of this new culture of their southern neighbors its power had been spent and the sharp edges already removed. The Sanpoil were never greatly affected by the horse culture except in a few superficial aspects of material life. Thus I feel that it can reasonably be said that the Sanpoil possessed one of the most truly Plateau of Plateau cultures. The whole flavor of their life reflected their interior isolation and independence.[2]

101 Culturally most like the Sanpoil were the Colville to the north and the
171 sməq̓aie'tkᵊ on the west. The Columbia linked naturally with the Wenatchi, and the Spokane with the people further east. The Lakes, north of the Colville, were more akin to their Canadian neighbors than to their southern ones.

Though the Sanpoil travelled relatively little, especially long distances, the number of peoples with whom they were acquainted was fairly large. The names by which they were designated follow:

[2] Cf., page 26.

101

Lower Fraser	t'ləmsiu'x
Thompson	nɛqutəmi'x^{a}
Shuswap	sixwa·'pmx
Similkameen	smɛlkami'x^{a}
Kettle river group	snɛwiyatlpi'tk^{a}
Lakes	sna'itckst^{a} (from a'itckst^{a}, a small speckled fish of the upper Columbia river)
Upper Kutenai	skɛlsi'ulk^{a}
Lower Kutenai	sloqwala·'qwax
British Columbia tribes collectively	nukutəmi'x^{a}
Blackfoot	stɛqwaixu'nɛxux
Sioux	á'nxutusɛm·
Flathead	sá·'lic
Pend d'Oreilles	snyá'lmɛnx^{a}
Kalispel	qálɛspi·'ləm
Chewelah	sqa·wi'lax
Spokane	spu·ke'nx
snɛkɛ'lt (on lower Spokane river)	snqwemi'tqwa'x^{a} ("little river")
Colville	sxoie'lp^{a}
Columbia	snqe'us
Moses' Columbia band	squwa·'xtcɛnux
Okanogan	soqɛnaki'n
Chelan	stcli'nx, or spat'lnulumxɛmux ("bitter-root people")
Methow	sme·'tɛaux
Wenatchi	snpaqwe'"usx
Wenatchi group six miles downriver from present town	stskɛ'tɛmix^{a}
Kittitas (pcwa'nwapam)	yiá'qɛna
Yakima	á'tánɛm
Klikitat	i'sunxia'"uix^{a}
Palus	stqamtci'nax ("slough grass people")
Nez Perce	sa'a·'ptɛnx
Nez Perce, Lapwai group	sná'pɔwax^{a}
Walula (Walla Walla) and Cayuse	skeiu'sx
Umatilla	i'syumɛtálax
Snake	snɛski·'nqumx ("rattlesnake people")
Wasco	swasqo·'pax^{a}
Chinook	tcɛnu'k
Willamette (probably Clackamas)	sway^{e}'mpɛnx
Puyallup	spuyá'lɛpx^{a}
People beyond Mt. Rainier collectively	sɛkuti'kɛnx

TERRITORY

GEOGRAPHY

133 The Sanpoil lived in a region consisting mainly of treeless deserts and subject
137 to great ranges in temperature (Plate 4). In the extreme northern and eastern por-
361 tions of their territory the hills were clad with evergreens but these areas were used only for hunting. All permanent settlements were on the Columbia river since there the climate was milder, driftwood was available for fuel, water was always at hand in any quantity and travel was made easy by canoe.

131 All of eastern Washington and portions of adjoining states and British Colum-
133 bia are drained by the Columbia and its tributaries. This great river has cut a huge gorge hundreds of feet deep through the lava plateau over which it flows. Where it is not confined within a canyon the banks are in the form of gravel terraces or benches, one above the other, which extend for considerable distances. It was on the lowermost series of these benches that most of the native villages were located. The plateau is a bed of basalt, 4000 feet deep in some places, formed by a succession of lava flows. This originally level plain has been considerably broken up by gorges cut by ancient streams and by the Columbia river at times when it was temporarily blocked from its main channel. These dry canyons are known as coulees. The greatest of these, the Grand Coulee, was cut by the river when the Okanogan glacier filled the upper Columbia valley at the "Big Bend." Minor uplifts have further modified the topography since the lava was laid down.

Sanpoil territory on the north extended into the physiographic province known as the Okanogan highlands. This is a northwestern projection of the Rocky mountains with elevations of 5000 and 6000 feet. The gently rounded hills are composed chiefly of granite and are fairly well wooded.[3]

132 The mean monthly temperature varies from 20 degrees F. in December to 66 degrees F. in July in the northern part of the territory (Republic). In the region south of the river the variation is from 24 to 74 degrees F., the extremes being reached in the same months (Wilbur).[4] Maximum summer temperatures of 115 degrees F. and minimum winter temperatures of minus 25 degrees F. have been recorded. Slightly less extreme figures are quite common.

The average annual precipitation over the whole of the former habitat is about 13 inches. Most of this falls in the winter months in the form of snow except in the extreme north (Republic) where the monthly distribution is very irregular and spread throughout the year.[4] Snow remains on the ground throughout the winter months.

Humidity is low; the annual mean percentage is probably not over 65.

Storm centers are normally north of the area, causing prevailing winds to blow up the Columbia river. In the late winter and early spring these warm, dry winds are called chinooks. They cause a rapid melting of snows.

137 Two plant life zones, the Upper Sonoran and the Arid Transition, are represented in this area. The former is typical of the Columbia plains or lava plateau

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[3]Saunders, *The Physical Geography of Washington*, pages 311-12, 314.
[4]Information furnished by Mr. Albert L. Seeman of the Department of Geography, University of Washington.

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while the latter characterizes the lower reaches of the Okanogan highlands. The most conspicuous plant of the Upper Sonoran of this region is the sagebrush (*Artemisia tridentata*). Other prominent plants include rabbit brush (*Chrysothamnus nauseosus*), antelope brush (*Purshia tridentata*) and dragon sagewort (*Artemisia Dracunculus*). The Arid Transition zone is divided into two subareas. The lower is characterized by bunchgrass (*Agropyron spicatum*) and often called the bunchgrass prairies. The upper division is typified by the presence of yellow pine (*Pinus ponderosa*) forests. The bunchgrass prairies appear a short distance north of the Columbia river and shade into the pine forests just north of Nespelem.[5]

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HABITAT

The accompanying map (Figure 1) indicates the exact territory occupied by the Sanpoil and the names of adjoining peoples.

101 131

In northeastern Washington, about 85 miles south of the Canadian boundary, the Columbia river abruptly changes its course from south to westward. This has come to be known as the Big Bend of the Columbia, and the adjacent territory to the south of the river is called locally the Big Bend country. This general area, together with that included within the bend, was originally occupied by the Sanpoil. The confluence of the Sanpoil and the Columbia rivers marked the center of population but the geographical center was somewhat north of this point, near Lake Annum (Buffalo Lake). The southern boundary of the area was approximately a straight line running east and west at about 47° 40′ latitude. The eastern boundary intersected this line about 15 miles west of the town of Davenport. From that point it continued in a northeasterly direction to the bend of the river, or just west of the village called Peach. The boundary line then followed the river northward to Hunters, where it veered westward and connected with the Kettle river range of mountains; this range formed the remaining portion of the eastern territorial limit. A line drawn directly eastward from Republic to the Kettle river mountains would represent the northern boundary with fair accuracy. On the west the boundary line proceeded from Republic to Kartaro, then southward across the river toward Coulee City.

133

All villages were located along the Columbia river; therefore the boundary points on the river were much more clearly defined than in other parts of the territory. The former were determined by the actual extent of the villages, the latter merely by the greatest extent of territory covered during hunting and root gathering expeditions. The area thus recognized as properly belonging to the Sanpoil comprised about 1600 square miles.[6] Approximately 85 miles of the course of the Columbia were included and both sides of the river were occupied except for the short distance between Miles and Hunters.

101 131 361

[5] Piper, *Flora of the State of Washington*, pages 36, 47-48.

[6] It is somewhat misleading, however, to speak of territory *belonging* to the Sanpoil and to designate boundaries as definite lines. The nature of boundaries and concepts concerning the territorial ownership are discussed at length in the section on political organization, pages 109.

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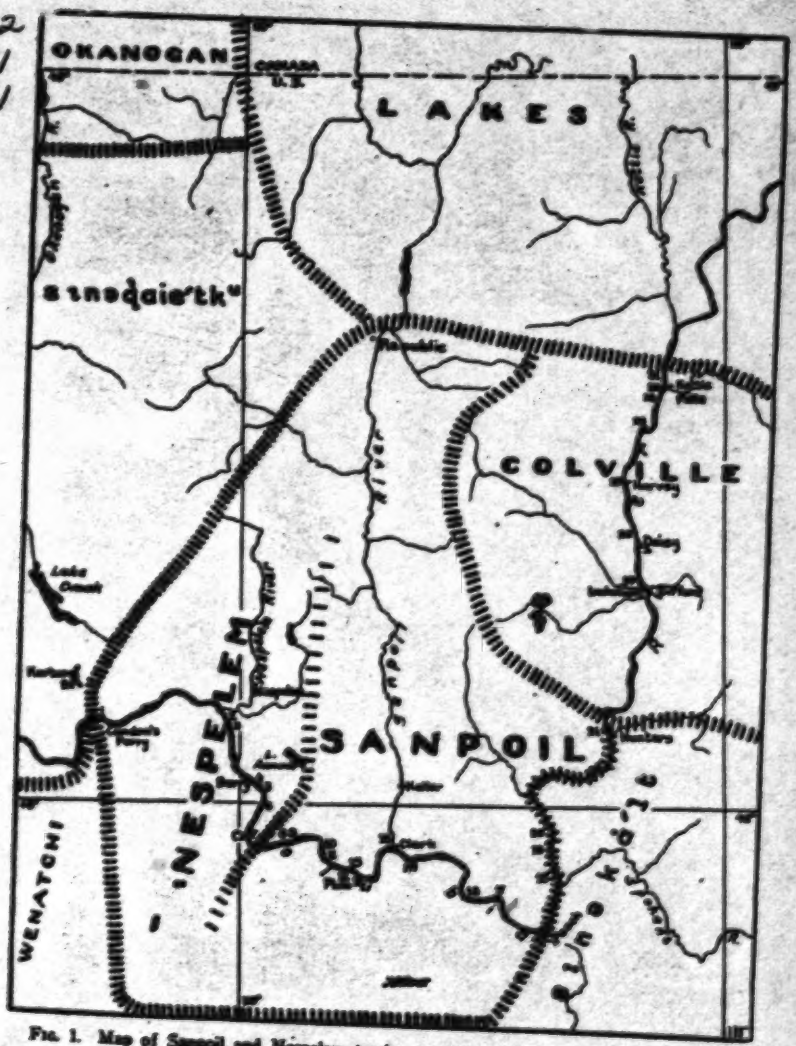

FIG. 1. Map of Sanpoil and Nespelem territory. (Numbers indicate native villages. See list in text).

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VILLAGES

Following is a list of villages (xwi'i'lx^{u}) as obtained from John Tom, Bob Covington and William Burke. A few of these sites were occupied as late as 1879 but since that time most of the old villages have been abandoned. Despite this, most of the information is first hand.

At the time of John Tom's boyhood (1840-50) shifts of population had not yet become necessary as the result of white intrusions. Even when Covington and Burke lived on the Columbia many of the old villages remained. The list is fairly complete for all settlements of more than two houses. Many of these small groups existed and for each there was a definite place name and group name, but the less important ones have been forgotten at this date. A few of the villages of the snəqaie'tk^{u} and of the Colville, neighbors of the Sanpoil, are recorded; these are the ones remembered by my informants. The population estimates were given by John Tom unless otherwise noted. The reliability of the estimates varies from one village to another; regarding some he was quite certain, about others he was dubious.

The villages of each group are given in geographical sequence, beginning with the village furthest down the Columbia and proceeding upriver.

NESPELEM VILLAGES

1. nəkukt'ci'ptn ("big basin"?), home of the snəkukt'ci'ptnux^{u}, located at the site of the present Condon's Ferry on the north side of the river. This was a summer settlement only; no winter houses were ever built here since fuel was scarce in the vicinity.[1] This location was occupied throughout the summer, not during the fishing season only. It served as a base from which trips across the river and back into the mountains were made. The summer tule houses began to appear early in May and were not torn down until near the end of August.

   This was not a true Nespelem village since much of the population was made up of members of the snəqaie'tk^{u} group usually residing during the winter at ka-yta-' (24). Others, from as far as Okanogan, occasionally came here for the summer when the fishing was especially good. The Nespelem and Sanpoil members of the village were drawn from the various upriver settlements as far as npui'lux^{u} (15). Despite this diversity of population those who gathered there were known by a common group name during their sojourn.

   The number of people living here during the summer varied from 100 to 150.

2. nəpi'lam (Nespelem), ("prairie," "desert country"), home of the snspi'lux^{u}. This village was located on the lower Nespelem river; it extended from the falls to the mouth of the river, a distance of about three-quarters

[1] This was the explanation given by Covington. It should be noted, however, that other sites along the river where fuel was quite as difficult of access were occupied throughout the winter.

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of a mile. It was an all year settlement, but probably more populous in the winter than in the summer. Many semi-subterranean houses were located here.[8] The population was 200 or a few more.

3. ɣaimi·'saxun ("brow of hill"), a summer settlement of the snspi·'lux[w]. Approximately 100 people[9] gathered here during the months of June, July and August to fish for salmon. It was located on the north bank of the Columbia river about a half mile above the mouth of the Nespelem river.

4. salqua'xuwi'ł ("where the trail meets the river"), home of the salqua'xuwi'łau. This village was situated across the river from the present town of Barry. It was a summer and winter settlement but only a portion of the population remained throughout the summer. Those who stayed made use of the fishing grounds at hand. Most of the others went to skłamtcı'n (7) to fish. John Tom estimated the population as 60 or 70, the number of houses as 15. Covington placed the number of individuals at 150, which would seem to be more nearly correct for the winter population than Tom's figure, since the latter's estimate would allow one house for every four or five persons, which certainly seems too small an average. However, the smaller figure probably represents the summer population with fair accuracy.

5. ski'x[w], home of the ski'x[w]. This winter camp was situated about a mile above salqua'xuwi'ł (4) on the same (north) side of the river. Two or three houses, occupied by eight or ten families, were usually located here. Allowing five persons to a family the individuals would number 40 to 50.[10]

6. mɑsmɑsa'łmx[w], home of the smɑsmɑsa'łmxuwa'. This village was approximately a mile and a half above ski'x[w] (5). It, too, was a winter camp, and about the same size.[10]

7. skłam'tcı'n ("passing by the coulee," "opposite the coulee"; the etymology of this name is obscure, but it definitely refers in some way to the Grand Coulee), fishing grounds of the salqua'xuwi'łau. It was located across the river from the mouth of the Grand Coulee. These grounds were used by 40 to 60 people each summer.

SANPOIL VILLAGES

8. nɪxxo'i'tq[w] ("deep spring"), a winter camp of the snpui·'lux[w]. About half way between skłɪ'mtcı'n (7) and na'a'q[w] (11) was located this camp. It consisted of two long mat houses accommodating four to six families, or 20 to 30 persons.[10]

[8] See page 31.

[9] Bob Covington estimated the population at 300 but he certainly must have been mistaken in this case, especially since this number is greater than the total population of the Nespelem.

[10] Information and estimates furnished by William Burke.

1. [nspi'łam -- Analyst]

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9. wɑɫ'wɑɫá'skɪn ("solid rocks"), home of the swɑɫ'wɑɫá'skɪnxᵘ, situated a half mile up the river from nɫɑxo'i'tqᵘ (8). This was a winter camp, but was also occupied during the fall fishing season. Salmon were taken by spearing from canoes. At this point the river changes its course and shoal waters are numerous. As a result many exhausted salmon are washed ashore. These were gathered and used by those camping here. Population, 20 to 30 people.[11] 162 221 361 592

10. t'sɑkt'si'kskɪn ("rough rock"), a winter camp of the snpui·'luxᵘ, located about a half mile below na'a'qᵘ (11). One or two houses, with perhaps 10 to 15 persons, made up this settlement. Stranded salmon were taken here in the fall, as at wɑɫ'wɑɫá'skɪn (9).[11]

11. na'a'qᵘ ("across the creek"?), home of the sna'a'qau. This place was about a mile below the present town of Plum, but on the opposite (north) side of the river. It was a permanent settlement[12] of four or five houses with a population of 40 or 50. These people had their own fishing grounds near the village.

It was here that Burke was born and spent his youth.

12. ɣɑɣsula'uxᵘ ("level ground"), home of the sɣɑɣsula'uxuwa. This settlement, located near Plum, was occupied in winter only, since there was no suitable site for a salmon spearing station in the vicinity. Three or four families, or about 20 people usually made this their winter home.[11] [115]

13. kɑɫpusp̓u'stən ("place where rye-grass grows"), home of the kɑɫpusp̓u'stənaxᵘ. This village was located about a mile above Plum, on the opposite side of the river. It occupied a sheltered position near the river and remained comparatively warm throughout the winter. The population consisted of 40 or 50 people, occupying four or five houses. This site was not occupied during the summer; most of those residing here during the winter spent the summer at npui·'luxᵘ (15).

14. sa'a·'mɪkᵘ (from the "roar of the wind hitting the cliff"), home of the sa'a·'mɪkᵘ. This was a year-round settlement on the opposite side of the river from kɑɫpusp̓u'stən (13). It consisted of 15 or 20 houses with a population of approximately 100 people. The winter population was often augmented by families from npui·'luxᵘ (15), attracted by the more moderate weather enjoyed at this site.

15. npui·'luxᵘ ("gray as far as one can see," referring to the hazy appearance of the prairie and hills), home of the snpui·'luxᵘ. It is a corruption of the group name of the people of this village that has since been applied by the whites to all the peoples of the area, that is, the Sanpoil. Their village was located at the mouth of the Sanpoil river. This site was one of the most desirable in the whole territory for salmon fishing and each year a huge trap was built across the Sanpoil river. This resulted in the congregation of many people during the summer, coming from all parts [226]

[11] Information and estimates furnished by William Burke.

[12] That is, the site was occupied during both summer and winter. Actual house residence was never permanent. The dwellings used in summer and winter were always distinct. See page 31.

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of the Sanpoil territory and from neighboring tribes as well. Covington estimated that some 400 people gathered here at the height of the salmon season. During the winter the population dwindled to 75 or 100, due to the extremes of temperature at this location.

Actually, this village was made up of several smaller camps centering on the flats near the mouth of the Sanpoil river, but extending up that river for a half mile or more. Each of these camps had its own name, and was more or less distinct from all the others. In some cases a camp would recognize a "head man" (not a chief) of its own. Certain of the camps were occupied only in winter; others were exclusively summer camps. The following list of the individual camps was furnished by William Burke. The list begins at the mouth of the Sanpoil and continues up the river.

A. snkelkuqwɬi'sxɛnɛn ("sitting at the foot of the cliff"), a summer and fall fishing camp, located near the present landing of the Keller ferry. Dog salmon were taken here during September, October, and a part of November. This was the largest of the summer fishing camps.

B. qɛltsɛltci'n ("cliff propped up"). This was a small winter camp situated on the first bench above the Columbia, west of the Sanpoil river.

C. qɛtɛpkumn'lax^{a} ("knoll"), on the banks of the Columbia, just east of the Sanpoil river. This was the most populous of the winter settlements of the snpui·'lux^{a}. East of the village were located the ball grounds where shinny and various other games were played.

D. qaqa·'mqam, a small fishing camp on the islands in the Sanpoil river, a short distance above the mouth. It was occupied in the fall only.

E. A branch of snkelkuqwɬi'sxɛnɛn (A), called by the same name, but located several hundred yards north of the first group, between the cliff and the Sanpoil river, on the west side.

F. snpu·'tlam ("emerging from the brush"), a summer and fall fishing camp, on the east bank of the Sanpoil river, about an eighth of a mile above the mouth. This camp was second only in size to snkelkuqwɬi'sxɛnɛn (A).

G. skɛxwi'lx^{a} ("cave in the rocks"), located on the west side of the Sanpoil river about a mile above the mouth. This was a large summer fishing and berrying camp and a general gathering place. Visitors often camped here. It was most populous in May and June.

H. snluda'luk^{a} ("wide, bushy place"), an all-summer camp about a mile and a half north of the mouth of the river. This location was favored because it was unusually cool throughout most of the summer. It was used as a base from which berrying and fishing trips were made.

16. xula'lst ("mountains at the edge of the river"), home of the sxula'lst^{a}. Located at Whitestone, about eight miles above npui·'lux^{a} (15). This was the largest winter settlement of the Sanpoil. The houses here numbered

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30 or 40, containing about 300 people. Approximately 50 persons remained here during the summer, making use of the fishing grounds at npoqoγu'ŝ (17). The great majority of those living here during the winter moved to npui·'lux^{a} (15) with the approach of summer.

17. npoqoγu's ("deep eyes," referring to the pot-holes in the rocks on the bed of the river, caused by the swirling of the water), fishing grounds of the sxula'lst^{a}. Frequented each summer by about 50 persons, mostly from xula'lst (16).

18. snuke'ilt ("above the rapids"), home of the snuke'iltk^{a}. This village was situated on the west side of the Columbia river about a half mile above the mouth of the Spokane river. It was occupied throughout the year by about 80 people. Some of the snuke'iltk^{a} travelled to npui·'lux^{a} (15) for the fishing season but many remained to fish on the Spokane river. Although this was in Spokane territory they were always welcome.

19. xwat'sa'm' ("many bones"), a winter camp about three miles above snuke'ilt (18). It was utilized by 25 or 30 people.[12]

20. npo'xs'tian ("water splashing on the grass"), a winter camp about two miles above xwat'sa'm' (19), and similar in size to it.[12]

21. tkukua'lkuxun, home of the stkukua'lkuxunax^{a}. This was the uppermost village of the Sanpoil; it marked the northeastern corner of their territory. The spot is now known as Rodger's Bar; it is just across the river from Hunters. The population here was about 150 during the winter. In the summer these people left for the fishing grounds on the Spokane river, at Kettle Falls (in Colville territory), or at npui·'lux^{a} (15).

smɔɬaie'tk^{a} VILLAGES

22. tkuγa·'tum, home of the stkuγa·'t, situated on the Columbia river at the mouth of the Okanogan, about three miles above the present town of Brewster. The population numbered somewhat more than 100. This was an important trading center and the location of a Hudson Bay store. As such it was well known by the Sanpoil.

23. kali'tcmɔn ("big rapids"), home of the skali'tcmɔn. This was a small village located at the rapids near Box Canyon, about ten miles above the present Bridgeport but on the opposite side of the river. Only two or three houses, containing 20 or 25 persons, were located here during the winter, but large numbers gathered in May, June and July to take advantage of excellent fishing.

24. ka·γta·', situated near Goose Lake at the site of the present Kartaro. This was a winter village, selected because of its sheltered location and the presence of a plentiful supply of wood.

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[12]Information and estimates furnished by William Burke.

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COLVILLE VILLAGES

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25. ntcali·"sm ("hits the river," referring to the creek which enters the Columbia at this point), home of the sntcali·"x^{w}. This was the first Colville village beyond Sanpoil territory. It was located about a mile above the present town of Inchelium. About 150 people made this their permanent home.
26. nqua'si'sm ("big eddy"), home of the snqua'si'x^{w}. This village was situated slightly above the present town of Daisy on the opposite side of the river. Approximately 50 people lived here.
27. qaqala'pia ("water-logged"), home of the sqaqala'piax^{w}. This settlement was across from the present town of Harvey, at the point where the ferry now crosses. The population consisted of the members of four or five families, a total of 25 or 30 persons.
28. nilami'n ("place where the river enters a basin, causing an eddy"), home of the snilami'nax^{w}. This was a settlement with a population of approximately 75, located about 15 miles above qaqala'pia (27).
29. ntcumu'tastum, home of the sntcumu'tast^{w}, a village of 25 or 30 people about six miles above nilami'n (28), near Kettle Falls.
30. qaluma"ax^{w} ("level land"), home of the sqaluma"ax^{w}. Population 25 or 30. Located opposite the present town of Kettle Falls, about a mile and a half above ntcumu'tastum (29).
31. snatcunu'lau, home of the snatcunu'laux^{w}, situated at the site of the present state bridge at Kettle Falls. Population, two families or about ten people.

TEMPORARY CAMPS

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From Burke I obtained a list of the temporary camp sites of the Sanpoil on the Sanpoil river. These are not properly termed villages, for although each was in use more or less constantly throughout the summer, and to some extent during the winter, the occupancy was never stable. The camps were used principally by groups travelling up the river on hunting, fishing or berrying expeditions. A given party would stop at one camp for a few days, then move on to the next, or perhaps to one a day's journey distant. In the case of true villages the residents were usually referred to by the name of that village, plus the personifying prefix and suffix. Occupants of camps, however, were not known by the name of the camp, but each was known by the name applied to those residing at the village from which he came. [551]

The following list of Sanpoil river camps begins with the first temporary camp beyond npui'lux^{w} and proceeds northward up the river.

1. snluxu'la'x^{w} ("hole in the ground"), about three miles above the mouth of the river.
2. ksi'ɬast ("scratch on the head"), on the west side of the river, about half way between the Columbia river and Keller.
3. áqla'iyuk ("place where a'iyuk grows"), a half mile above ksi'ɬast (2).
4. snxloa'pate'n ("entering the brush"), a short distance below Keller.

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5. ṗu·'pəstən ("grass growing along the creek"), at the present site of Keller. 221
6. nmxo·'yȧm ("raccoon in the brush"), about a quarter mile north of Keller. 361
7. nxwi'i'pɑm ("cold water"?) (Sahaptin word?), a mile above Alice creek on the east side of the river.
8. sə'ȧ'ȧ'tcast ("jeering the rock"), at Alice creek. Used as a base for hunting parties in both winter and summer.
9. ȧtcxulıki'pȧstəm ("rounding the base of the cliff"), about a half mile north of Alice creek. Used as a hunting base principally.
10. nloqloqəkue'lixtən ("rugged gulch"), about two miles south of Cash creek. Hunting base.
11. nxɑt'ltcıni'tkᵘ ("horse creek") (Columbia word?), on the west side of the river at Cash creek. Hunting camp.
12. sntxulu'stən ("crevice in the rock"), on the east side of the river, at the foot of a cliff, about a quarter of a mile above Cash creek. Served as a hunting base.
13. nlu·'piɑm ("birch"), a mile and a half above sntxulu'stən (12), on the same side of the river. Hunting camp.
14. slȧkumu'ləmxᵘ ("many wild carrots"), directly across the river from nlu·'piɑm (13). Hunting base and root gathering camp.
15. nxlakatci'n ("draw with a wide mouth"), on the east side of the river at Thirty-mile creek. Hunting base.
16. mɑ'lt', a half mile above Thirty-mile creek. Hunting camp.
17. luxluxxu'm ("pot holes in the ground"), at Devil's Elbow. Hunting base.

The following places, all above luxluxxu'm (17) may or may not have been used as camp sites. Burke was not certain.

18. aqlqɑpuxwi'lpᵘ ("hazel-nut creek"), eight miles below West Fork.
19. tɣwi'i'p ("sharp hip"), near the creek at West Fork.
20. ,kli'i'puš ("lone tree on the flat"), at the present site of Republic.

POPULATION

It is exceedingly difficult to calculate with any degree of accuracy the number of individuals constituting the Sanpoil prior to the nineteenth century. In 1782 began a series of epidemics which greatly depleted the population throughout the area. Smallpox made the most serious inroads, but measles and influenza caused considerable losses as well. 175

The smallpox epidemic of 1782-83 destroyed from one-third to one-half of the population. It was followed by epidemics of the same disease in 1846 and 1852-53, introduced in both cases by the white people.[14] In one of these instances, probably the latter, a party of Sanpoil traders had travelled to Portland and there contracted the disease. Despite their illness they attempted to return home. Only one of their number survived the journey; it was through this individual

[14] Mooney, *Aboriginal Populations of America*, pages 13-14.

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175 that the Sanpoil were exposed. Although all of his family fled to the mountains when they learned of his illness, it was too late to check the spread of the disease and soon it had been carried throughout the Sanpoil and neighboring groups. When one member of a family contracted smallpox it often resulted in the extermination of the entire household, due to failure to isolate the afflicted person.

A scourge of measles took a heavy toll in 1847[14] but its effects were not as devastating as any one of the smallpox epidemics.

The old men of the group emphasize the degrading effect that liquor has had upon the constitution of the native and attribute many fatalities indirectly to its excessive use, through a breakdown in the ability to withstand disease. Any dependable information as to the actual part that liquor has played in increasing the death rate is difficult to obtain; further study might reveal sufficient data to justify an evaluation. The presence of venereal diseases in the group is indicated by the knowledge of treatments for them.[15]

All factors such as these must be considered in making any estimate of the aboriginal population. Mooney's calculation that in the year 1780 the Sanpoil (with which he includes the Nespelem) numbered 800.[16]

We may arrive at an approximation of the population for the period *circa* 1860 by adding the estimates given for each village by native informants. In these calculations it will, of course, be necessary to keep separate the figures for those villages occupied only in summer and those only in winter.

VILLAGES	SUMMER POPULATION	WINTER POPULATION
1. nəkukt'ci'ptn[17]	100–150	.....
2. nspi·'ləm	200	200
3. xaimi·'saxun	100	.....
4. salqua'xuwi'l	60–70[18]	150[18]
5. ski'xʷ	.....	40–50
6. mxmxsa'lmxʷ	.....	40–50
7. sklxm'tcɪ'n	40–60	.....
8. nlxxo'i'tqʷ	.....	20–30
9. wɪlwɪlt'skm	.....	20–30
10. t'sɪkt'si'kɪkm	.....	10–15
11. na'a'qʷ	40–50	40–50
12. xɪxsula'uxʷ	.....	20
13. kɪlpuspu'stən	.....	40–50
14. sa'a·'milkʷ	100	100
15. npui·'luxʷ	400	75–100
16. xula'lst	50	300
17. nɪoɛoyu's	50	.....
18. smuke'ilt	80	80
19. xwat'sa'm'	.....	25–30
20. npo'xs'tian	.....	25–30
21. tkukun'Tkuxun	.....	150
Totals	1220–1310	1335–1435

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In comparing the totals (summer, 1220-1310; winter 1335-1435), obtained in the preceding calculations, certain facts must be borne in mind. First, a portion of those occupying the summer village nəkukt'ci'ptn belonged to the sna·qaic'tk" group and returned to their own village, kn·γta·', at the close of the fishing season; therefore they do not appear in the total for the winter habitats. Also, there is undoubtedly some duplication in the summer estimates for the two villages, nspi·'lam and χaimi·'saxun. Although many of the inhabitants of the former settlement remained there throughout the year a certain number removed to the latter place for the summer months. In fact, χaimi·'saxun was given as a summer village of the snspi·'lux".[29] These considerations would subtract perhaps 100 or 150 from the result of the compilation for summer settlements, thereby increasing the discrepancy.

On the other hand, the winter inhabitants of snuk·'ilt and tkukua'lkuxun did not all remain in Sanpoil territory during the summer. Many of those belonging to the former village spent the summer on the Spokane river. The latter, a populous village, was near the great fishing center at Kettle Falls, resulting in a considerable proportion of the inhabitants removing to the falls (Colville territory) for the summer. Others went to the Spokane river fishing grounds. Moreover, the average number of persons occupying the temporary camps along the Sanpoil river during the summer must have been considerable, but since its fluctuating nature precluded the assignment of any significant estimate, no consideration of this factor was possible in compiling the totals.

The correction necessary in the light of these facts might add a hundred or perhaps two hundred to the summer total. In any event, it would doubtless cancel the figure it first seemed necessary to subtract, and perhaps even add to the original total of 1220-1310. Since the winter total stands at 1335-1435, the correspondence is reasonably close, the discrepancy being between 115 and 125. Inasmuch as these figures are calculated from independent estimates for each village the close agreement of the results representing the total group population for summer and winter, respectively, speaks well for the accuracy of both the individual estimates and the compiled totals.

For the period, then, immediately following the middle of the nineteenth century the population of the Sanpoil ranged around 1300 individuals according to native testimony. This figure may be somewhat high but it at least indicates that the group was considerably more populous that has heretofore been assumed. Mooney's estimate of 800 for the year 1780 is clearly much too low, for the subsequent years were fraught with the many devastating epidemics already mentioned, and the groups could hardly be expected to have held their own in the matter of numbers; it is scarcely possible that an increase occurred. It does not seem unreasonable to assume that 1600 or 1700 would more accurately represent

[28]See page 222.
[29]Mooney, *Aboriginal Populations*, page 15.
[30]The population of this village was mixed Nespelem and Kartaro; this figure represents the total.
[31]John Tom's estimate. See page 16.
[32]Covington's estimate. See page 16.
[33]See page 16.

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175 the aboriginal population of the group; this figure would leave a fair margin for the decrease which undoubtedly took place during the years from 1780 to 1860 and yet not necessitate a too literal acceptance of the native estimates for the latter date.

Beginning with the year 1890 the various reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs contain estimates of population as rendered by the agent in charge of the reservation. In these reports the Sanpoil and the Nespelem are listed separately. These figures follow:[32]

YEAR	SANPOIL	NESPELEM	TOTAL
1890	300	..	...
1891	...	59	...
1897	239	...	...
1905	324	41	365
1910	189	45	234

The report of the Census Bureau for the year 1910 listed the number of Sanpoil Indians as 240, of which 238 were in the state of Washington; the Nespelem as 46.[33] The Report of the Bureau of Indian Affairs for 1913 contained the results of a survey for that year, which numbered the Sanpoil at 202, the Nespelem at 43, or 245 in all.

Little faith can be placed in the earlier estimates for several reasons. In the first place, all of the Indians had not yet come under the jurisdiction of the Indian agent and judgments were made only with regard to those who in some manner had come into contact with the agency. Secondly, little care was taken in the determination of group affiliations, with the result that the same individual was often listed in one report as belonging to a certain group and in another report was included with an entirely different group. Also, no agent was actually resident on the Colville reservation until 1913; previous to that time the affairs of the reservation were transacted from the agency on the Spokane reservation. Even in the case of the figures for 1910 the discrepancy between the commissioner's report and the census report discredits the value of either estimate.

It appears, nevertheless, that the population has been considerably more stable during the years covered by the reports than in the years immediately preceding. Between 1860 and 1890 the death rate was unquestionably very high. This was due, perhaps, to the introduction of diseases by the white traders and settlers, coupled with the refusal of the natives to receive medical assistance from the agency doctor.[34]

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[32] Quoted in U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Indian Population*, page 93.

[33] *Ibid.*

[34] Another factor may have been the inability to obtain medical attention at the moment needed in such cases where treatment would have been accepted. Even today there are but two full time doctors and one serving part time, to cover the 1800 or more square miles included in the reservation.

THE PATTERN OF LIFE

DOMINANT CULTURAL TRENDS

Certain dominant trends in Sanpoil culture vitally affected the life of every 181
invidivual born into that culture. They colored the whole outlook upon the 554
world and determined the attitudes taken toward it. Conservatism and radi- 622
calism, faith and skepticism were defined in terms of these concepts. They were:
pacifism and the equality of men.

Pacifism was carried to such a degree that heinous offenses by raiding parties 721
were left unrevenged. After one such raid the offenders were pursued for a short 829
distance but the chief soon dissuaded the injured ones from attempting retaliation. "Our children are dead and our property is destroyed. We are sad. But can we bring our children to life or restore our property by killing other people? It is better not to fight. It can do no good." The Sanpoil returned home. Such action was not unusual. The most eloquent speeches of Sanpoil chiefs were delivered in the interest of maintaining peaceful relations with all peoples. These efforts were successful. Theory was put into practice. No warfare, either offensive or defensive, could be recalled by the father of any living man. Nor was the principle of pacifism applied only to foreign relations. On the contrary, this ideal was even more important in fashioning the daily lives of men. From earliest infancy the child was drilled in the tenets of peaceful existence with his fellows. The pugnacious man was a public enemy with whom respectable people associated as little as possible. It was clearly one of the principal duties of the chief to see that the peaceful life of the community was not disturbed. This he accomplished by counselling his people, arbitrating petty differences and presenting a good example by his own conduct.

The success of the principle was especially evident within the household. 181
Groups of ten or twenty persons lived together over periods of many years with- 626
out the development of a single serious altercation. A safety valve was provided. 829
It was a person's privilege to leave at any time and he could always find a home elsewhere. But one was not privileged to remain and demand his "rights" when he developed a grievance. As a result family trouble was unheard of.

Insignificant matters and major problems alike were decided with reference to what action would make for the greatest harmony. Even in the mythology this basic attitude was reflected. For example, the man who decided not to take revenge upon his brother who had stolen his wife, was commended for his decision.

Sanpoil insistence upon the equality of men was of an impressive order. 181
Class distinctions were unthinkable. Slavery was an unaccountable custom of 554
foreigners. When a new chief had to be selected any man was eligible. The selec- 556
tion was made by popular vote on the basis of moral character alone. He remained 567
one of the people. He was as approachable as any man in the group. His powers 622
were preponderantly advisory rather than dictatorial. Every adult citizen was 829
a member of the general assembly of his village. Nor did wealth carry with

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181 it an advance in status. Indeed, wealth was rare. Only shamans could properly
226 be counted rich men and whatever prestige they possessed was the result of their
476 unusual supernatural powers, not their riches. The scarcity of wealth was again
554 an outcome of the belief in the equality of mankind. Why should one man have
556 more than another? Yet nature was bountiful—was not every man deserving of
755 a living? The solution of these questions was a modified communistic organiza-
829 tion. The huge catches of salmon made each summer at the great fish traps were divided entirely equally between all present, foreigners included. A man need have taken no part in the fishing activities to be entitled to a share in the daily distributions. Likewise the meat obtained on a hunting expedition was divided evenly among all those who had taken part regardless of what members actually killed the game. But room was left for individual initiative. Salmon taken with a spear was the property of the individual spearman (but every man was given his turn on the fishing platform). And game taken by the individual hunter was his personal property (except that the first deer killed by a boy had to be divided among the townspeople to the exclusion of himself). Women always retained the products of their individual labors at berry picking or root gathering. Yet it was never necessary for a person to go hungry if there was food in the village. A single meal or a whole winter's lodging and meals were never denied a man.

181 Thus almost the whole economic life of the Sanpoil was built around the
578 principle that one man was equal to another. Other quite foreign aspects of life
626 were affected as well. Social control was simplified. Stealing was practically un-
681 known. Why should one steal? The usual executive, judicial and police organi-
829 zation for dealing with criminals was minimized with the absence of one of the commonest of criminals, the thief. The deeply instilled dislike of conflict worked to reduce still more the number of torts committed.

181 In the quest of supernatural power we see equality again playing a part.
554 This sponsorship was open equally to every man and every woman, not to only
776 a privileged few as in some other parts of North America. There were very few
829 Sanpoil men who did not succeed in the quest to the extent of gaining at least one guardian spirit.

181 It is not argued here that all individuality was levelled down by these domi-
183 nating cultural tendencies or that other cultural drives of consequence were not
578 present. Not all conformed alike to the ideals of peacefulness and equality. As
626 great a range of individual variation was evidenced as in any comparable culture
829 and greater than in many. There were nonconformists and skeptics. There were those who liked conflict, those who deemed themselves superior to their fellows and those who liked to accumulate private property. But these types were in the minority. They were the undesirables, the radicals. They were the individuals who made social problems.

178 It is interesting to note that here in the center of the Plateau, an area hitherto
181 considered a cultural mixture of Northwest coast and Plains traits, we find one
554 of the outstanding cultural trends in direct contrast to the Coast, the other to the Plains. At opposite poles were the Sanpoil principles of equality and the rigid

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Coast system of classes and preferences. And the Sanpoil ideal of pacifism was utterly foreign to the central theme of Plains life, the exhibition of bravery in warfare.

THE YEARLY CYCLE

Life began anew for the Sanpoil with the coming of each spring. After the enforced extreme inactivity of the winter months the first signs of spring were occasion for rejoicing. Moreover, fresh food would soon again be available to replace the winter diet of dried products broken only by an occasional meal of venison. The underground houses were deserted at the first opportunity. Temporary camps were established nearby for the sake of a change in surroundings and fresher air. This transfer of residence was usually made during the month called skɑnɑ'umɑn, "time that the buttercups bloom," which corresponds roughly to March. The new quarters were occupied for two or three weeks during which time the men gathered shell fish and hunted fowl and rabbits. At the same time the women were digging the few early edible roots which had appeared on the warm sandy hillsides near the river, and were gathering prickly pears, which were eagerly eaten after the spines had been burned off and they had been roasted. At this time those who had spent the winter away from home returned one by one to their own villages.

During the early part of the following month, kəpɑtetitɑ'n, "time that the leaves come out," there was a general removal from the Columbia to the root digging grounds on the plains south of the river. Before leaving, the winter mat houses were dismantled and all goods which were not to be transported were cached in trees or on elevated racks and platforms. Village groups did not move in a body across the river but bands formed of four or five families each and journeyed to their favorite spots. Each band before leaving notified the chief of its intended destination. The largest group usually went with the chief.

The root digging activities opened with the celebration of the first roots ceremony at which the first products of the ground were ceremonially eaten. For the women the ensuing period was one of industrious labor. A whole year's supply of roots had to be gathered and dried. It was necessary to move camp often in order to be near fresh fields. This was a considerable task in itself even though the mats for the conical shelters were fairly light and the hut designed to be erected quickly. The men did not assist in this work. Indeed, the man's life at this time was as leisurely as his wife's was arduous. He occasionally hunted rabbits and antelope but spent much of the time lolling about camp gossiping or gambling with other men. His time of intense activity, the summer fishing season, was yet to come.

The old and ill and crippled remained during this time at the winter camps on the river along with a few able bodied persons to care for them. The extensive travelling during root digging made it impractical to take the incapacitated along. When the travellers returned home with their products they were shared with those who had had to remain.

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221 The summer fishing season began about the first of May, when sturgeon
226 and small fish were available. Trout and salmon appeared soon afterwards.
462 Most of the members of each winter village built summer mat shelters at the
796 fishing grounds nearest that village but some preferred to go elsewhere. The largest traps were located at the mouth of the Sanpoil river, the mouth of the Spokane river and at Kettle Falls. These places always drew persons from far and near. Like the root digging, the salmon season was initiated with a ceremony, the first salmon rite. This observance was the most elaborate ceremony outside of the winter season. During a five day period of feasting and celebration the salmon was handled and eaten in a rigidly prescribed fashion. Social as well as economic life was intense from the opening rite to the end of the season at the end of August. Each day was punctuated with the distributions of the salmon at which time everyone gathered together. Visitors were constantly coming and going and gambling was rampant. The greatest amount of travel occurred toward the end of the season when the fish became scarce. There was always the hope that some distant site might prove more productive. The women were far from idle while the men were fishing and gambling. Theirs were the tasks of cooking and drying the salmon and of gathering berries in any spare time.

221 About the first of September the dried salmon were temporarily stored on
251 the flat tops of the summer shelters and a general disbanding of the group took
342 place. Some went into the mountains to gather the fall roots and to hunt. Others went directly to the fall fishing grounds where they speared the silver and dog salmons from canoes or caught them with seines. The shelter used at this time was the same type as that in the spring, a conical mat hut. A closed structure was necessary for the fall salmon had to be dried indoors by the heat of the campfire. The heat from the sun was no longer great enough.

221 Winter villages were reoccupied about the middle of October. All dried
251 foods were placed in their permanent storage places, the underground houses
342 were cleaned and repaired, the long winter mat houses were rebuilt and general
462 preparations were made for a winter of seclusion. Most of the work at this time fell to the lot of the men. The winter houses were made exclusively by the men except for the mats which were woven and sewed by the women. Men also cut or gathered the supply of wood but the women carried it in. They, too, gathered rye grass to cover the floors.

221 The three midwinter months were descriptively named: kumi'kutɔn,
295 "time that it snows"; kʧaa'ʧsa'ttɑ'n, "time that it gets cold"; and spa'kɔʧ, "time
796 that it is white." It was necessary to spend most of the time indoors because of the severity of the weather. Women made baskets and mats, fashioned and mended clothing and prepared the meals. Men went on occasional hunting trips but were left with much unoccupied time which they spent playing games, telling stories or sleeping. There was one welcome break in the monotony of the
796 season. The great ceremonial period of the year came at midwinter. Dances
221 were held in continuous succession for as long as two months. Families travelled from one dance to another for the duration of that period. Guardian spirit songs

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221 were sung and shamanistic performances executed. Emotion was built up and
796 released. At the end of the series of dances all were more content to await the coming of spring.

THE DAILY ROUND

512 The summer day often began before sunrise in the Sanpoil household. With the aid of dry pine needles or sagebrush bark an old woman, always the first to arise, brought to life the fires which had been banked the night before with hardwood and knots. This accomplished she wakened the children, prodding them on the soles of the feet with the fire tongs if they were slow. Immediately upon leaving their beds the boys and girls ran to their respective bathing places on the river. They plunged into the water two or three times, the bolder ones
[361] diving, then hurried back to dry themselves around the fires. While they stood there they were tutored by the old woman in the knowledge and ideals of their people. Men were allowed to rise at their leisure but the old woman called and chided the younger women if they were not soon out of their beds. Babies were permitted to sleep as long as they would.

The younger women departed immediately to pick berries or discharge other duties while the morning was yet cool. The children soon left to play in the sands of the river bank. The old women swept the floors, rolled up the unoccupied bedding and kept the fires burning. When the men arose they went to their sweat lodges or to the fishing platforms to spear salmon. Old men bathed
[355] and returned to sit around the house. As soon as the babies awakened they were bathed in baskets of warm water and placed in their cradles.

064 About ten o'clock those who had been away returned. The women turned
512 to preparing the morning meal. Water was brought from the river in which to
252 cook the salmon. The fish were cut up and put in the cooking basket with hot rocks with which the water was boiled. After the water had been kept boiling for about twenty minutes the food was ready. The salmon were removed from the basket with a sharp stick to be placed on the eating mat which had been unrolled on the floor. Fresh berries were served in a basket. If camas had been cooked with the salmon the cooking basket itself was placed on the mat along with a large horn spoon. The men and children were called and all seated themselves around the mat. The men sat with their legs beneath them, or outstretched; women sat on one foot or folded their legs together under them. Children ate with their elders only if no strangers were present. Invalids were fed later.

After the meal was finished the mat was laid out in the sun and the baskets were washed and hung on pegs in the lodge. Men devoted the remainder of the morning to dressing. Women did not take as long; when they were through they combed their husbands' hair. The early afternoon was given over to social activities, particularly gambling and visiting.

The evening meal was served at dusk. It differed little from the morning
512 meal. Afterwards the children gathered around the reclining old people and begged for stories. The young men went out to smoke and discuss affairs of the day with their comrades. The young women attended to small duties about the

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264 461 512 515 house. Bedtime came soon for the children; they were not allowed to remain up after dark. The men retired soon after dark and after them the women; this order was observed because the women would have been ashamed to be seen in bed by men who were still up.

The daily routine during the winter was much less diversified except for the ceremonial season when life was fullest. The time of arising, as in the summer, was before dawn, but the actual hour was later. Children bathed in the icy waters of the river; adults washed in baskets of unwarmed water or went to the sweat lodges. The morning meal was dispensed with during the winter. One meal a day was considered sufficient during this time of inactivity and shortage of food.

Morning tasks included cleaning away freshly fallen snow from about the house and the paths to water and fuel. This was done with a paddle-like shovel of wood and brooms of sagebrush.

Men departed early in the morning if a hunting expedition had been planned. Otherwise they spent the day mainly indoors, smoking and chatting. Children played outside in the snow. Women attended to the household tasks and made baskets.

The daily meal was served late in the afternoon (some families preferred to have it in the morning). Dried foods were boiled. Often salmon alone constituted the meal.

Smoking and story telling occupied the evening. All went to bed soon after dark.

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HOUSES AND HOUSEHOLD

HOUSES

The Sanpoil made use of three definite types of residences (xaxwa'iakanstak): the winter mat house, the semi-subterranean lodge and the summer mat house. These forms were supplemented by a mat hut employed when travelling, a menstrual lodge,[1] and a sweat lodge.[2] All residences were occupied seasonally; no year-round shelter existed. With the exception of the earth lodge all structures were rebuilt with the coming of each new season and torn down at the end of each period of occupation. Since the advent of the white people the log cabin has come into general use as a winter house, while the canvas covered tipi has replaced the mat hut for summer use. 342 342 173 177

Though the semi-subterranean lodge and the winter mat house were used simultaneously the natives speak of the former as being the older type, and the only winter house known until fairly recent times. With the introduction of the mat type of winter shelter the earth lodge fell into disuse. Since a hundred years ago but few of the underground structures have been occupied. John Tom, Covington and Burke, for instance, had all lived in mat houses while young, but none had occupied an earth lodge. However, many depressions which mark former sites of earth lodges are still to be seen on the lower Nespelem river. 342

The semi-subterranean earth lodge (xo'tsi·') consisted of a circular pit with a flat or conical roof. The depth of the pit varied from four to six feet; a deep pit was necessary for the flat roof type. The diameter ranged from ten to sixteen feet. The hole was dug with a sharp edged paddle-like tool of wood. In the conical roofed structure a single large log served as a center post, from the top of which radiated poles extending slighly beyond the margin of the hole. At the periphery the distance between the poles was about two feet. The angle of slope was approximately 22 degrees. The method used to secure the radiating poles to the center post is not clear; they were tied in some manner with willow rope. Cedar planks, split from driftwood, were laid as a first covering on the roof when such wood was available. In lieu of planks willow mats were used. A layer of grass and brush was then added to a thickness of about six inches. On top of this a thick layer of dirt was placed, usually a part of that which had been excavated. However if clay were easily available the covering would be made of this, since it turned water much better than ordinary soil. A single hole in the top near the center post permitted entrance and egress and allowed the smoke to escape. The ladder consisted of two vertical poles set a small distance apart upon which cross sticks were tied with thongs of willow bark. The ladder projected a foot or two out of the opening. The notched log type of ladder was not known. Only one fire was used, placed near the center of the room. 332 [322] [354]

The entire room of the flat top earth lodge was below the ground level. Poles of proper length were simply laid across the top of the pit in a parallel series. The distance between poles was two feet or less. Subsequent coverings

[1] See page 134.
[2] See page 35.

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of planks, brush and earth were added as in the former type. With the flat top house the opening leading outside was placed at the edge instead of the center, necessitating a corresponding change in the location of the fireplace. Although easier to build than the conical roofed lodge, this type was less efficient in the matter of drainage and consequently less used.

During stormy weather and at times when no fire was burning the smoke-hole was closed by means of a tule mat. Care was taken not to allow snow to collect on top of the lodge in order to avoid the possibility of collapse under the stress of the extra weight.

The floor was covered, except near the fire, with a layer of rye-grass four or five inches thick. This served as a mattress over which tule mats or skins were placed. Occupants slept with their feet toward the center of the room.

The winter mat house (samaia'ihu, stktani'h[e]) was a gable or inverted V type of structure. The ground plan was long and narrow, with rounded ends. Width remained fairly constant, approximately sixteen feet. This was determined by the inner arrangement of beds and passageway. Length varied from twenty to sixty feet, accommodating two to eight families.

Construction began with the digging of slanting holes, about a foot deep, to receive the bases of the poles used in the upright framework. Sets of two poles, each eighteen to twenty feet long, were then tied together near one end to form a V. These were raised to position in the holes, each pair separated by about twelve feet from the next one. The apex thus formed was approximately fourteen feet above the ground. No ridge pole was used. Beginning about one foot below the peak on either side transverse poles were tied to the uprights in parallel courses approximately three feet apart until the ground was reached. The poles were tied together at the intersections with small willow branches which had been twisted until flexible. The framework at the ends of the structure consisted of upright poles arranged in half-tipi fashion. The horizontal courses were carried around the ends by the use of flexible willow branches. The lower four or five feet of the framework was made of rye-grass. A covering of grass of any variety, a few inches thick, was added, then a layer of dirt, varying from six or eight inches thick at ground level to half that amount at the upper edge. The next row of mats overlapped this dirt layer by several inches. All mats except those forming the bottom course were made of tule. Each section was four to five feet wide, as determined by the height of the tules, and ten to twenty feet in length. They were laid lengthwise, each course overlapping the last by three or four inches. Mats were attached from the inside by tying cords, previously secured to the mats, around the poles of the framework. The space above the uppermost horisontal pole was left completely open, providing an aperture about a foot wide along the entire length of the house for the escape of smoke and the admission of light. Entrances were provided in each end of the house, but never along the sides, and were double, each consisting of an outer and an inner door. The outer opening was a space between two of the vertical poles, about three feet wide and six feet high, over which the covering of the framework did not extend. It was closed with a tule mat, stiffened at

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the top with a willow pole and fastened at each end on the upper side. This door opened into a narrow passageway formed by partitions of cedar planks or mats on each side, as high as the door and extending to a point directly below the apex of the rounded portion of the end of the house. Here was the inner doorway; a mat was hung between the partitions at this point.

The space at the ends of the house between the walls and the passageway was used for storage purposes (ula'ki'n). Temporary food supplies were kept there, usually in flexible bags. The bags were hung on cross poles or simply laid on the ground. Platforms were not employed. Short sticks were sometimes thrust into the house mats and used as pegs on which to hang small articles.

A pathway about four feet wide ran throughout the length of the house from door to door. This passageway was marked off from the portion of floor space given over to beds by poles placed end to end along each side. Fireplaces were in the middle of this central alley, the number varying with the number of families. One fire sufficed for the two families living on opposite sides of it. A pit was not purposely dug for holding the fire but frequent removal of ashes soon caused a depression to form. Mats covered the floor on each side of the passageway but the ground was left bare along the path itself. Bedding consisted of mats, robes and blankets. When mats were used as bed covering they were made of slough grass, not the coarse tule used for house covering.[3] Extra clothing was kept at the head of the bed, (the wall side), and used as pillows. During the day all of the bedding was rolled toward the wall, leaving the ground covered with the tule mats. Personal property such as bows and arrows was kept near the owner's bed by lodging it between the mats and the poles of the framework. The part of the storage space at the ends of the house utilized by a given family was dependent upon proximity; that is, a family was entitled to storage space on the same side on which it lived, and at the nearest end. A doorway, likewise, was for the use of those nearest it.

At the end of each winter, usually about the middle of March, all mat houses were dismantled. The mats composing the house were individually owned, and would be claimed by their respective owners. These same mats were used during the spring and fall in building temporary mat shelters, and between those seasons for the summer mat house.

If a death had occurred in the house during the winter, all parts of the house except the mats were burned. If no death had taken place the poles were cached and used later in some other sort of construction but never again in the framework of a house. If these customs were violated ill fortune would threaten the house. In the former case the ghost of the dead person would hover about, haunting the occupants and making mysterious noises at night. In the latter event sickness would inevitably occur at the instigation of some unfriendly shaman who would be sure to notice the breech and take advantage of it.

When the winter mat houses were rebuilt in the fall, toward the middle of October, a particular group seldom rebuilt on the site previously occupied.

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[3] See pages 38-39.

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342 Since there was no concept corresponding to land ownership each household
423 was at liberty to select any unoccupied location in the village. Sites were chosen
361 with an eye to warmth, a minimum of wind and proximity to water. Each season the new location was selected with the aim of improving some one or more of these aspects as compared with the situation of the previous winter.

342 The temporary mat hut (sɪpɪ'a'ilᵘ) was utilized during the summer while
285 moving about in search of roots and berries, and on hunting trips during the
484 winter. Each hut contained but one family. As previously stated, the mats from which the hut was constructed were the same as those covering the winter house. Two types of such shelter were used. In one the form was that of a small tipi, built around a three pole foundation. The height at the apex averaged ten feet, the diameter twelve. Two courses of mats usually sufficed for the covering. These were only loosely tied to the poles in summer since there was little danger of rain during that season. In winter more care was taken in the construction.

The second variant of the hut was little more than a circular windbreak. Willow poles, eight to twelve feet long, were set vertically in the ground, about two feet apart, to form a circular enclosure. Mats were leaned against the poles and tied. The weight of the mats caused the poles to bend inward, leaving an irregular opening at the top several feet across. Mats only were carried when travelling, poles being cut at each camping place. Under favorable weather conditions even simpler shelters than these often sufficed, especially for a small party or a single individual. Mats might be used in the form of a lean-to or merely laid against low bushes to break the wind.

285 At the various fishing grounds were erected each year the summer mat
342 houses, (ʂɪntcauqwɪ'ltən, summer house), rectangular, flat roofed structures.
361 These were community dwellings as in the case of the winter houses. House groups were usually made up of the same families in summer and winter. The
571 first bench above the river in most cases furnished the most desirable location for the group of summer lodges. The individual houses forming the group were placed end to end, parallel to the river, and facing it. The ground plan of the house was rectangular, narrow and long. Only sufficient width was required for one row of beds and a passageway, that is, eight or nine feet. Length depended upon the number of occupants and the amount of space deemed necessary for the drying of fish, thirty to sixty feet or more. The upright poles of the framework were set in the ground to a depth of ten or twelve inches. Poles with a fork at the upper end were often used to simplify the process of laying the cross poles of the roof. Horizontal poles were added at the back of the structure (away from the river) to support the mats. Mats usually covered the back side only; sometimes the ends were also enclosed. Occasionally small trees were cut and placed around the open edges to break the wind. The roof consisted
252 of small poles laid across the roof beams to support the covering of brush and
342 grass, or mats. The upriver half of the house was devoted to the drying of fish. This, rather than the other end, was used for drying purposes because the prevailing winds blew upriver and carried the odors of the fish away from the sleeping quarters. The sun, which might strike the fish from the open sides, was kept

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out by mats hung temporarily from the roof. These were moved as the day progressed. If additional space were needed for the drying of fish, and the house could not be lengthened on account of some obstruction, an L might be added on the upper end. Fires were built in front of the shelter, never on the inside. Bedding was laid with the head to the back of the lodge.

HOUSEHOLD ARTICLES

Household necessities consisted of bedding, appliances for preparing, cooking and serving food, and fire making apparatus. Other articles included the implements and tools, containers of various sorts, brooms, cordage and thread, and numerous other accumulations. The nature and use of bedding has been noted above;[4] its manufacture will be described here. Cooking utensils and containers were principally of basketry. Stone work was not highly developed. The principal articles made were pestles, hammers, knives and arrow heads.

BASKETRY AND MATTING

Coiled baskets (Plate 5, Figure B) made from the root of the cedar (tatsa'-pax[a]), served as water carriers and containers, cooking utensils, drinking cups, berry containers, and possibly hats. Cedar was very scarce in Sanpoil territory. To obtain good roots it was necessary to travel to the region around Republic. Expeditions for this purpose were common. As a substitute for cedar root, spruce root was sometimes used since it was much more readily available. All coiled baskets were known by a generic term, ya'mxwa'; cooking baskets were called xlakat'c'n; water containers, amami'l'xman. The typical shape was elliptical increasing in size from the bottom to the top. The bottom was somewhat rounded. A few baskets approached rectangularity; the bottoms of these were flat. Occasionally the relative size of top and bottom was reversed, the mouth becoming quite small. As for actual size, the mode was perhaps twelve inches in depth, eight inches in diameter. But the range was quite great, cups being very small and feast baskets reaching several gallons' capacity. The rectangular basket was used for gathering berries, the others for cooking and water carrying. The latter were often provided with rigid, inverted U shaped handles of root. They were lighter in construction than the cooking baskets.

Coils were built on a multiple rod foundation of finely split cedar or spruce roots. The strips of root used for sewing were as thin as practicable and two- or three-sixteenths of an inch wide. Both elements were kept moist while working with them, to increase their flexibility. Awls of either bone, horn or wood were used to pierce the holes for sewing. Bone awls were sometimes provided with wooden handles. Stitching of spruce and cedar roots was often alternated in the same basket to achieve a decorative effect. Since the spruce was much lighter in color than cedar an effect of contrast resulted even though the materials were used without modification, but if an accentuated effect was desired the spruce was dyed. Ornamentation was very rare. Occasional imbrication was used but

the vast majority of coiled baskets were perfectly plain.

[4] See pages 32, 33; robes, used also as bedding, are described on page 47.

283 the vast majority of coiled baskets were perfectly plain. Bear grass (səlɪka'stia),
285 imported from the district around Cusick, Washington, in Kalispel territory,
314 was the principal material used for imbricating. Designs were simple and iso-
415 lated. On the whole the coiling technique seems to have been rather poorly mastered. The Sanpoil baskets certainly did not compare in workmanship with those of the Yakima, for instance.

[137] Flat bags and soft baskets were twined of bast fibers. No rigid baskets were made by this technique. The materials used included Indian hemp, *Apocynum cannabinum* L., (spi'i'tsən); the inner bark of the Scouler willow, *Salix Scouleriana* Barratt, (pa'ʒpuʒilpᵊ); the bark of antelope brush, *Purshia tridentata* DC., (tsqua'sqələstən); and sagebrush bark, *Artemisia tridentata* Nutt., (qwɪl'qwɪlɛməni'lpᵊ, "blue brush").

283 Indian hemp was the most satisfactory and the most extensively used of
314 these materials. The plant was found in profusion in damp ground, where it grew to a height of about five feet. It was cut in the fall, cured in the sun for about two weeks, then tied into large bundles and stored for future use. The exact time that it was gathered depended upon the color desired. The fiber was light in color before the leaves fell, a dark red-brown afterwards. In preparing the hemp for use it was split down the hollow center with the thumb nail and the flattened piece bent double. The fiber was then easily removed by peeling from the middle toward each end. The rough fibers were dressed by scraping with a sharp piece of flint and rubbing between the palms. When all coarseness had been overcome the fine strands were rolled and twisted between the palm and the bare thigh into cord of the weight desired.

Other foundation fibers, although coarser, were spun in much the same manner.

285 Most woven bags and baskets were made in simple twine work. Two weft
314 elements were interwoven with one warp element at a time. In addition, some
415 twilling was done, but it was rare. In close twine work the wefts were forced together as tightly as possible; in open twine they were separated by an inch or two. Decorative effects were obtained by wrapping the weft with tule, the
[137] root of the western scouring rush. *Equisetum hyemale* L., (itsi'stən), a red bark obtained in the mountains, called putla'nx, dyed grasses, or by using hemp of two shades. Recently corn husks have been widely used as overlay.

The designs used consisted principally of triangular figures arranged in various combinations. Sometimes each triangle was a solid color, but multicolored units were used also.

Both soft bags and soft baskets were called qwɛi'p̓. The two were distinguishable primarily by the form of the bottom, folded in the former, circular in the latter. In the baskets the weaving proceeded in a clockwise direction, viewed from the outside. Two general types of flexible baskets were made. The one was in close twine, usually decorated, and about twice as deep as it was wide. In size there was considerable variation, the depth ranging from ten to twenty-four inches. Near the top of the basket usually were sewed two buckskin loops,

close together, and on the opposite side near the bottom a third one. When a tumpline or carrying strap was used with the basket the ends were first passed through the two loops, then tied together at the loop on the opposite side. One variant of the soft basket was provided with a closing top. A buckskin thong was inserted into loops which were woven into the upper edge of the basket. It was called ta"mot. Extensive use was made of this type for holding such products as dried herbs, where it was desirable to keep the container closed. 285 314 415

The open twine soft basket was often made of the coarser fibers, and was never ornamented. Twilling was sometimes substituted for plain twining (Plate 2, Figure G). The dimensions reached twenty inches in diameter, thirty inches in depth. It served both as a burden basket for roots and as a storage basket for various products. 251 285 314 415

There was but one basic type of the soft bags with folded bottom, but various names were applied, depending upon size and function. All were closely woven. The most common form, which was designed for the storage of berries, roots or nuts, was wide and shallow, averaging twelve inches in depth and twice that in width. It was called npultama'xun. Small square bags for holding household articles and trinkets were termed ntutumasti'ma'tən. Others, greater in depth than width (eighteen by twenty-four inches, for instance) were used for carrying personal belongings when travelling, and as general utility containers. These were almost invariably decorated. 482 [531]

Flat, flexible bags in openwork twining were made of the various fibers mentioned above and also of cattail, *Typha latifolia*, and tule, *Scirpus* sp. Such bags were used almost exclusively for the storage of food. These were more or less standardised in size at eighteen or twenty inches wide by thirty-two to thirty-six inches deep. Those made of tule or cattail were called ki'au. Their major use was found in the storage of dried salmon, venison and roots. They were essentially long, rectangular pieces of fabric doubled and sewed together at the sides with cord of Indian hemp. The weft courses were separated by about two inches. [137]

Basketry dyes were made with both vegetable and mineral bases. The inner bark of the Oregon grape, *Berberis aquifolium* Pursh, (stcualsi'lp^{a}, "sour-plant") when boiled produced a yellow dye. Blue huckleberries were mashed to obtain a blue dye. Blue was also made by soaking in water the inner bark of a bush called quqapui'lp^{a}, found along the Sanpoil river. Still another bark, qeqetuni'lp^{a}, provided a brown coloring matter when immersed in water for a short time. Various earths, notably those containing iron oxide, were pulverised and mixed with water to produce colors for dying grasses. 285 384 [137]

Baskets of cottonwood or pine bark (sloqəlk'n) were utilised extensively for the storage of berries and roots. Cottonwood was preferable. Since bark of the quality desired was usually far up the tree the latter was ordinarily felled as the first step in the process of manufacture. In some young trees the lower bark was sufficiently clear to be used, in which case it was not necessary to cut the tree, but the baskets were correspondingly small. A tree from one to two 285 313

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feet in diameter was commonly selected. After felling, one end of the log was raised from the ground and blocked in that position, so that the under side would be free. A section reasonably free of defects and knots was cut from the trunk. The length and manner of cutting depended upon the type of container that was desired. For a basket with but one vertical seam and a flat bottom, a section about four feet long was removed by making two circular cuts at either end and one cut lengthwise. Two round pieces of bark, equal in size to the diameter of the trunk were cut separately. These parts were then assembled. The body of the basket was sewed together along the side opening. Then hoops of willow were fitted and sewed to either end, and sometimes to the middle for added strength. Finally, one of the bark discs was sewed to one end of the cylinder to form the bottom. Later, after the basket was filled, the other disc was sewed to the top. Willow bark thread was used for all stitching.

The second type of bark storage basket had two longitudinal seams and a U-shaped bottom. For its manufacture it was necessary to remove from the log a section of bark twice as long as the proposed height of the basket (usually about four feet) but extending only half way around. Usually both halves were removed to provide material for two baskets. The long piece of bark was heated at the midpoint to permit bending without breaking, then doubled (with the weather side of the bark outside) and sewed up each side with willow cord. Willow hoops were added as in the preceding type. This form was the more common of the two. In both such holes as were present were patched with pieces of bark made to adhere on the inside with pine pitch. These bark storage baskets were superior to woven ones for food subject to attack by vermin or too great a loss of moisture.

Birch bark baskets (p̓i'na') served as emergency cooking vessels and as receptacles for berries while picking. They were made in a variety of shapes, mostly round in section but some were elliptical. Depth and diameter were approximately equal. A willow hoop was bound to the top of each type with parallel stitches of willow bark string. The seams were sewed with a zig-zag stitch using the same string. Loops of hemp cord or buckskin were often attached, to which a tumpline might be fastened. These baskets were never decorated or provided with covers.

Mats served a multitude of purposes and were manufactured in large numbers. Their use in the construction of houses and as bedding has been described above. Further important functions included the drying of berries and roots, the holding of food at meals, the covering of stored food or wood, and the wrapping of corpses. Two materials were employed in their fabrication: tule, and slough grass, *Beckmannia erucaeformis* (L.) (?), (staqa'istən). Indian hemp was used as thread in the sewed mats, and as the weft in woven ones. Names were applied to the various mats according to their function. The house mat was called stuxwi'ptu, the bedding mat, swi'p̓lap, the food mat, sia'i'aks, and the berry drying mat, nəqali'mən. Mats made of slough grass were always twined. The weft courses of Indian hemp cord were separated from each other by one or two inches. The warps were twisted so that their natural markings would form a simple design of diagonal stripes. Such mats were four to eight feet long and as wide as

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285 the length of the grasses would permit. They were employed as bedding and as
314 food mats. The mats of tule, used for all other purposes, were made in lengths
415 up to twenty feet. Prepared tules were laid side by side and sewed together with hemp cord, using a needle of hardwood. The latter was elliptical in section, slightly curved, and from six to twelve inches long. Five or six tules were pierced at a time and the thread drawn through. Seams were separated by intervals of about six inches. The edges of the mat were often twined with willow cord for added strength.

Mats used for the final stage of salmon drying after the fish had been removed from the racks were made of slender young branches of willow twined with hemp. These were also called sia'i'aks.

POTTERY

323 Although removed by several hundred miles from the nearest "pottery area," the Sanpoil manufactured and used a crude type of clay ware. The information was furnished by John Tom; he spoke for the Sanpoil and Nespelem only. He know of no similar practices by "outside" peoples such as the Lakes, Columbia, Nez Perce, etc. Nor had he heard of the use of pottery by more remote tribes.

323 The first suggestion of the use of clay came in answer to a question regard-
177 ing the material used for the core of the ring employed in one of the hoop and
524 pole games. The game concerned was the variety in which a small ring is rolled along the ground and against a small log used as a buffer, the pole being thrown after it on the rebound.[4] John Tom's first answer was that iron was used, since it was desirable to have a heavy ring. Questioned further as to what was used before iron became available he answered without hesitation: clay. Damp clay was molded into a small ring two or three inches in diameter and before completely dry was wrapped tightly with damp or green rawhide in two or three layers. After the rawhide has dried and contracted the ring was tough and rigid and of sufficient weight due to the clay core.

323 John Tom revealed, upon further inquiry, that at least one type of clay pot,
415 always supplied with an outer covering of fish skin, was made and utilized in former times. It was not used for cooking, but solely for carrying water. Firm white clay, easily available along the banks of the Columbia river, was dug for making pots. Other clays were also plentiful but proved inferior to the white mud for this purpose. Pots were always built up in a form. The ordinary method was to dig a small pit in the firm sands along the river bank conforming in shape and size to that desired for the pot. The clay, after being worked to the proper consistency by mixing with water, was smeared about inside the pit to the thickness of about three-quarters of an inch. After roughly applying the clay in this manner the inside was smoothed carefully with the hand. The vessel was then left to dry in the sun. A thorough drying was accomplished in a short time since the heat becomes quite intense along the river valley during the summer and the sands are correspondingly hot. When completely dry the pot was removed from

[4] See page 162.

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its place in the pit. The particles of sand adhering to the outside were scraped off with a sharp edged stick, leaving a fairly smooth outer surface. Unusual irregularities were corrected by moistening the uneven portions and smoothing with the hand. This completed the building of the pot proper. Firing was never practiced so far as John Tom's information went. He stated that pots would crack if allowed to get too hot. Hardening seems to have been satisfactorily accomplished by the heat of the sun alone.

A cooking basket was occasionally substituted for the pit in the sand in which to form the pot. It was necessary to select a basket with a fairly smooth inner surface or it would be difficult to remove the pot. In addition, it had to be turned out before thoroughly dry to avoid sticking to the basket.

A pot was never complete without a covering of fish skin. This was added for strength, to prevent cracking and possibly to render the container more waterproof. The skin of the white or silver salmon, (*Oncorhynchus kisutch*) was utilized for this purpose. A green or dampened skin was carefully cut and sewn to fit closely around the vessel. Tightly rolled sinew from the leg of the deer served as thread. The covering extended over the upper edge and down on the inside for an inch or two. Near the top of the pot two or three small holes were made, extending through the outside covering, the clay, and the inside projection of the skin. Through these holes rawhide thongs were threaded and knotted on either side. These served to hold the covering in place; they were not used as places of attachment for a handle since such were never applied. Upon drying the skin tightened; the vessel was then completed and ready for use.

The commonest shape in which clay vessels were made was identical with that of the typical cooking basket: elliptical in cross section, tapering gradually from top to bottom. Such vessels were seldom built as large as cooking baskets, however; the depth was often as little as eight inches.

As stated above, these vessels of clay were used exclusively for carrying water; they were always soon emptied for they were not capable of holding water over longer periods of time than twenty or thirty minutes without damage.

Clay pots of the type described were in common use at the time when John Tom was a boy. He learned the details of their manufacture from his mother who made such a vessel and used it for some time during his youth. They gradually fell into disuse while he was in his teens, at which time metal buckets were introduced by the Hudson's Bay Company.

Clay was also used for making the heads of children's dolls. These were rudely molded and attached to bodies of tule, or later, cloth.

Pipes were made only of stone; clay was never utilized for this purpose.[6]

[6]The preceding data were originally published in the American Anthropologist, vol. 34, no. 1, pages 127-133, under the title of *Pottery on the Middle Columbia*. In that paper the problem of accounting for the presence of pottery in this isolated region was considered, and the distribution of pottery-making peoples in the surrounding area was noted. The general conclusion was that the pottery of the Sanpoil might be assumed as historically linked with that of the Sarsi with the least possibility of error, if an assumption of linkage were to be made.

Subsequent to the writing of that paper I have received from Dr. Frans Boas the information that he has unpublished data concerning the use of pottery by the Kutenai, a tribe much

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MORTARS AND PESTLES

322 412 Mortars were made of wood or rawhide but seldom, if ever, of stone. The plain wooden mortar (anta·'min) (Plate 5, Figure D) was fashioned from a section of hardwood log. The grain was sometimes horizontal but more often vertical. First a rough depression was obtained by burning, then the hollowing out was continued by grinding with granitic stones until a uniform wall thickness of about one inch was achieved. The diameter diminished slightly from top to bottom; the bottom was flat. An average size was ten inches in diameter by twelve in depth. No handles were provided.

281 322 412 To retard cracking which very often ruined plain wooden mortars, a jacket of rawhide was sewed around the outside. A green, soft hide was used, sewed tight. Upon drying it contracted and exerted considerable inward pressure upon the walls.

Since a wooden mortar had a comparatively short life because of the rapid abrasion of the grinding surface, a lining of rawhide was often added. This lining, which fitted tightly against the inside walls, was made in two parts. The bottom part, designed to take the greatest wear, was made of rawhide cut into thin strips and braided, then woven, cup shaped, to fit the contour of the bottom. To this were sewed sides of plain rawhide which in turn were stitched at the upper edge of the mortar to the outside covering of hide, thereby completely enclosing the wooden portion. This made the most satisfactory of all mortars, but since it required considerable work in manufacture it was not common.

A mortar made entirely of rawhide was also known. A green hide, or one made pliable by soaking in water, was cut and sewn into the same shape as a wooden mortar. A willow hoop was stitched to the top. When dry the mortar became hard and stiff.

[531] Mortars were never decorated by carving or painting, but were occasionally covered with basketry work.

324 412 Pestles (spu'ksman) were commonly of granitic or basaltic stone. The rough rock was held in the lap and pecked into shape with a pointed implement of dense stone. Pestles were long and slender, tapering gradually from bottom to top, or from the middle to each end. The length varied from six to sixteen inches, the width at the bottom from one to two and one-half inches. Sometimes the top was knobbed or turned. Typical shapes are shown in Figure 3, C and Plate 5, Figure D.

322 324 In addition to stone pestles wooden ones were used. These were made of the available hardwoods in shapes and sizes corresponding to the ones of stone.

412 Unworked, but conveniently shaped, flat stones were often used for grinding purposes as well as the pestle and mortar.

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nearer the Sanpoil than were the Sarsi. Two tribes, the Lakes and the Colville, occupy the intervening territory between the Sanpoil and the Kutenai. I have recently spent a few days with these peoples. An old Colville woman recalled that her people used vessels made of clay while she was very young, but could give me no concrete information. Mr. Tardy, who is in charge of the subagency at Inchelium, in the old Colville territory, reported to me that while ploughing at the agency he had unearthed a sherd of crude clay ware, but had thrown it away as worthless. (He had just been transferred from an agency in the Southwest, where pottery was plentiful.) My single Lakes informant disclaimed any knowledge of the use of pottery by his tribe.

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DISHES AND SPOONS

Wooden bowls or dishes used for food were called stita'tiam, "little canoe," in reference to the typical shape. The analogy was to the shovel nose type of canoe, and held, except that the ends did not project as much. Such dishes were small, being six to eight inches long. They were burned and smoothed out in the same manner as the mortars. These were not individual food dishes, but were used in serving moist food. They were not common. 322 415

The individual eating utensil was a large wooden or horn spoon (lu'man). It was often carried at the belt by its owner. The wooden spoon was made from a slightly curved piece of hardwood. The hollowed portion was long and shallow, the handle usually short and wide, but sometimes elongated (Figure 2). Horn spoons were made from the horn of antelope, big horn goat or buffalo. A prong of horn of the required length was cut off and a longitudinal split about two inches 321 322 415

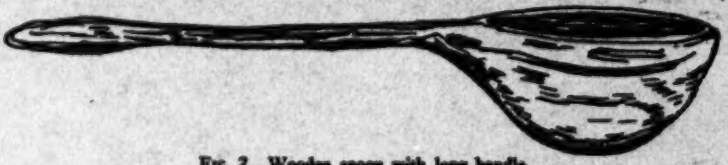

FIG. 2. Wooden spoon with long handle.

long was made at the open end of the concave side. It was then placed in hot water until soft, the split end opened up and shaped. After cooling and hardening the straight end was rounded by rubbing it against a rough stone. The prong end, which formed the handle, was also abraded until a slight aperture appeared through which a cord could be passed. This cord was knotted on the inside and used for suspending the spoon, as from the belt. Horn spoons were decorated with incised parallel lines, dots and circles and other simple motifs. The incisions were scratched with a point of flint. [531]

Besides these spoons and dishes proper, many other articles were used which served the same purpose. Short pointed sticks were employed as forks. Flint knives were used for cutting tough food. Large fresh water clam shells were substituted for spoons. Small mats of slough grass or shallow baskets were used to hold food. [285]

But for the most part food was eaten directly from the utensil in which it was cooked. Dry food, such as salmon and roots, was served on the large food mats that were laid on the ground at mealtime, and eaten with the fingers. The members of a family when eating together seldom used their separate spoons, but passed a single one from one to another. 264 415

TOOLS AND MISCELLANEOUS

In addition to tools mentioned in connection with their uses, the Sanpoil made stone hammers, drills and knives, bone wedges and wooden mauls. The stone hammer is shown in its typical shapes in Figure 3, a. It was used princi- 322 324 412

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pally to drive elk horn wedges (qaxami·'n) in cutting trees and splitting large logs. The wedge was of a heavy piece of horn shaped at the smaller end. Wooden mauls, also used for driving wedges and for other purposes, were made from the hawthorn, *Crataegus brevispina* (Dougl.) Heller, (sxwa'ni'k). A section of trunk was selected where the diameter was about three inches and a branch protruded horizontally. The trunk was cut on each side of the limb, about four inches from it. This became the head of the maul. The branch, cut a convenient length, served as a handle.

Drills were slender, sharp pointed fragments of stone, preferably flint, fastened to a round wooden shaft. In use the drill was rolled between the palms in the manner of the fire drill. Sometimes the point was heated.

Stone knives (Figure 3, b) were made of dense materials such as flint, chert or jaspar. They were either single or double edged. Handles of horn were sometimes attached by boiling the horn and forcing the blade in the open end. Knives, like arrowheads, were chipped.

FIG. 3. (a) Hand hammers. (b) Knives. (c) Pestles.

Fire drills were exclusively of the type which was rolled between the hands. The pump or bow drill was not known. The drill (xu'limɔn) itself was permanent; the seat or hearth (xu'likup^a) was not. Well seasoned straight grained pine was used in making the drill, or a small piece of willow root was bound tightly with hemp cord to a shaft of pine. The drill's length was twelve to twenty-four inches, its diameter about three-quarters of an inch. Hearths were improvised from pieces of jack pine. It was not customary to make more than one seat in each. When that seat was worn out the whole base was discarded and another made. The seat was a slight depression cut into the wood, with a notch at either side. Dry grasses of various sorts or the shredded bark of the abundant antelope brush were used as tinder. Usually after two or three moments of vigorous drilling and careful blowing fire (stukɔ'uk) was produced. Very often two men operated the drill to shorten the process.

The slow match (stukuwi'nkup) was relied upon almost exclusively while travelling, when fires had to be remade often. Sage brush bark was twisted tightly and tied, in lengths of two or three feet. A good slow match would hold fire for two or three days.

At permanent villages fires were almost never allowed to go completely out. At night the camp fire was banked with root wood so that it would smoulder until morning. The principal fuel used was driftwood. This could be easily obtained and required little cutting or breaking. The kind of wood with which the

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fire was made mattered little except that pine was unsatisfactory when salmon or meat was being dried in the house, and cedar threw a great many sparks. 372

Houses occasionally burned by ignition from sparks, or as a result of children playing with fire. There was little danger of a fire spreading throughout a village for the houses were too far separated. Roof fires were extinguished if possible by dipping brush tied to the end of a long pole in water and applying it to the mats that were burning. If it appeared hopeless to save the building all efforts were concentrated upon removing the lower mats of the walls.

Needles were made of slender fragments of bone from the leg of the deer. 321
A bone was heated to fracture it, then the piece selected was shaped and polished 322
with an abrading stone. Needles were three or four inches long, and straight. 412
They were used in conjunction with thread of deer sinew. Wooden needles, used for matting, and awls employed in basketmaking, have been described above. The same awls also were used for perforating skins.

Women's sewing bags (Figure 4, a) were made of buckskin. When opened 281
three pockets were exposed, for holding needles, thread, and other articles. They 415
were closed by folding over three times and tying. Sometimes the end was finished with a triangular flap. Women also used small carrying bags made of rawhide (Figure 4, b).

a b

FIG. 4. (a) Woman's sewing bag. (b) Woman's rawhide carrying bag.

Cordage was a vital necessity in every household. Hanks of Indian hemp 283
thread, cord and rope were kept on hand at all times. The spinning of the material has been described above. The small strands were twisted together to form heavier cord by tying the ends together and hooking two forked sticks into the loop. These were twisted in opposite directions by two persons working together, or one was fastened rigidly and a single worker rotated the other. When sufficiently twisted the cord was secured in a taut position for about twelve hours, after which it would not unroll. Rope was made by similarly twisting together four equal lengths of this two strand cord.

Fire tongs, used principally for removing hot rocks from the fire to a cooking 322
basket or sweat lodge, were made of two slender pieces of hardwood about twenty 412
inches long. They were bound together at one end with withes of twisted green willow bark for a length of about six inches. The rocks were first removed from the fire with a pole, then picked up between the arms of the tongs near the closed end by drawing together the open ends.

Parfleches were used considerably in recent times. They are described on 281
pages 93-94. 415

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CLOTHING AND PERSONAL DECORATION

DRESS

177 The Sanpoil, according to native testimony, made use of three distinct modes
286 of dress during successive historical periods. Information relating to the presum-
ably aboriginal type is now almost purely traditional. Even John Tom could
291 ascribe its use to no definite generation. The garments of this period were distinctive both in material and fabrication, being woven from bast fibers. The style of dress which replaced the woven garments involved a considerable use of buckskin, without tailoring. This period ended, it seems, within the lifetime of John Tom's parents. The recent period was characterized by tailored buckskin clothing of essentially Plains type. Its ultimate point of origin was undoubtedly the Plains, and it reached the Sanpoil as a part of the general complex of traits associated with the horse.

281 The aboriginal dress seems to have been scanty indeed. In the summer men
286 discarded all clothing except the breechcloth, and even that was removed while
travelling alone or in the company of men. Upon reaching a settlement a tem-
291 porary cloth was made of a piece of inner bark of the willow, or the penis and scrotum were simply wrapped and tied with a similar piece of bark. No foot covering was worn. Women wore both a poncho-like garment and breechcloths or aprons, but no other clothing. The winter dress of men and women was very much alike. Women retained the type of garment worn in the summer, and men wore an identical one. These were woven of the inner bark of the western clematis,
[187] *Clematis ligusticifolia* Nutt., (q̇ɑtsȧsuni'na', "tangle-owl"), antelope brush, *Purshia tridentata* DC., (tsquɑ'sqələstən), or slough grass, *Beckmannia erucaeformis* (L.) (?), (staq̇ai'stən), and Indian hemp, *Apocynum cannabinum* L., (spi'i'tsən). The
[283] shredded bark, sometimes mixed with the hair of the deer, was rolled on the thigh to form cord which was used as the warp of the garment. The weft was always
286 of Indian hemp cord. The garment was woven in rectangular shape, about two
294 by four feet in size, by simple twining. A diamond shaped opening was left in the middle of the piece through which the head might be slipped. Sometimes the sides were sewed together at the lower ends, but more commonly the front and back were held against the body with a belt of cord. The edges of the front were folded over the edges of the back. Breechcloths (nlɑkwe'pustxən) were always worn with this garment, since it did not fall far below the waist. These were
281 woven similarly to the upper garment. Women wore breechcloths both in front
286 and back; men wore only one, sometimes made of fur rather than woven. Leg-
291 gings woven entirely of hemp, rectangular in shape, and held in place with hemp cord, were worn exclusively by women. When men wore leggings they were of fur, usually the whole skin of some small animal wrapped around the leg with the hair inside. Fur robes (si·'tsən) presumably were used when the weather was severe. This completed the attire, or so informants claimed. It seems inconsistent that leggings should have been worn while the feet were left bare, but it must be remembered that moccasins require considerable tailoring, whereas the leggings were simply convenient sized pieces of fur.

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281 Extensive use of buckskin characterized the second or middle period. When
286 that material first came into general use for the fashioning of clothing the old
291 patterns were still adhered to. An opening was cut in the middle of a large skin to accommodate the head. Garments made in this manner were quite short, but the skins were stretched lengthwise during tanning. Here again the garments for men and women were identical. Men came to use a similarly constructed piece of apparel of bear fur or deer skin with the fur left on, over the one of buckskin for additional protection during winter hunting trips and other times of extreme exposure. Coyote skins were adapted of this use also but two were required on account of their small size. They were sewed together at each shoulder. These skin garments were encircled by a belt of bast cord or buckskin, as were the woven ones.

Breechcloths, which always formed a part of this costume, were made of willow bark as in former days. Hide with hair, such as that from the leg of the deer, or whole skins of small fur bearing animals were also used. The hair side was turned inward in winter, out in summer. Men still wore one breechcloth and women two, which were usually somewhat larger than the men's.

Leggings (kilihwa'kstxactxn) of fur, principally that of the badger, coyote and bear, were worn by both sexes in winter. Hunters sometimes wore them in the summer to protect their legs from the underbrush. These leggings were roughly rectangular pieces of fur of such a size as to extend from the ankle to well above the knee for men, or just below the knee for women. They were wrapped around the leg and tied, at the top only if women's, both below and above the knee if men's. The fur was worn on the inside.

294 Foot wear in the form of moccasins (apae'pi'xan) was worn both summer and winter except by children, who went barefooted most of the year. Men's and women's moccasins were identical in pattern. The general type was that in which the toe is pointed and a seam extends from the tip of the toe to a U-shaped piece inserted at the instep. The pattern is shown in Plate 1, Figure C. The large rectangular piece of skin was doubled and sewed together at one end. This seam was the one from toe to instep. The upper front was gathered to fit the shape of the insert, and sewed to it. Two of these flaps were used, one over the other. They extended to form a double tongue cut square on the end. Between

[531]

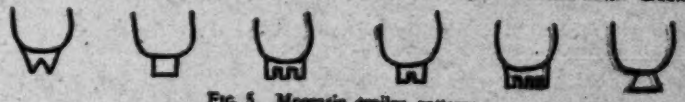

FIG. 5. Moccasin trailer patterns.

the inserted pieces and the body of the moccasin a narrow strip of buckskin was placed and the three parts sewed together. The edge only of the narrow strip appeared on the outside. All other seams were simply turned inward. A single seam extended from the bottom to the top of the heel. The tab or trailer projecting from the heel as a result of rounding that otherwise pointed part, was cut into various shapes. Some of these are illustrated in Figure 5. The ankle flaps, sewed around the top of the moccasin, were very narrow, not over two or three inches wide. All seams were made with thread of deer sinew. Lasts were not used.

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Moccasins were made to fit the foot loosely so that in winter soft grass (bunch grass) could be inserted for warmth. Sometimes a piece of fur was wrapped around the foot before putting on the moccasin. No other form of socks was used. Simple geometric motifs were embroidered in dyed quills of birds of porcupine (s̓wa'l') on moccasins for ceremonial wear. The upper was never entirely covered with quill work. Most moccasins were undecorated.

Caps (kwa'tskən) probably belong to this period. They were fashioned from the pelts of beaver, muskrat, rabbit, wolf, fox or fawn. The larger skins were cut; the smaller ones, such as rabbit skins, were used entire. Men's caps differed from those for women in that the former were provided with visors front and back, whereas they were absent in the latter. The skin was shaped to form a cap by stretching the center but not the sides. A green pelt was used if obtainable, or an old one was carefully softened by gradually moistening. Small rocks were placed in the middle of the skin and the edges tied together around them, or simply held together in the hand. The stretching and shaping was accomplished by gently beating the pelt against the ground. When a pouchlike form had been achieved the rocks were removed and the skin was allowed to dry, during which time it was continually worked between the hands or teeth to prevent stiffening. On men's caps, however, those parts which were to become the visors were allowed to stiffen. When dry the edges were trimmed. Tails or other pendants were removed. Caps were embellished by plucking out pieces of fur at random spots and sewing in small bits of contrastingly colored fur.

Caps were worn only in winter. The visors were for protecting the eyes from the sun. Caps were reversible. No other type of headdress was worn. Feathers were not used.

Mittens (sknálkwá'kst) patterned roughly to the shape of the hand, were made of coyote, rabbit and sometimes other furs. Rabbit was much less satisfactory than coyote, because the skin was too thin to wear long. Mittens were fastened to a cord which was hung around the neck. They seem to have been worn chiefly for warmth on long trips rather than for protection of the hands when working in the cold. The fur side was always turned inward.

Robes were made of pelts of the deer, bear, coyote and rabbit. These were used also as blankets. The skins of coyotes were sewed together; rabbit skins were treated in the same manner. Woven rabbit skin robes were made also. The skins were cut into narrow strips, as long as possible. These were sewed together end to end. Then the long strips were twisted until only the fur was exposed. Often the twisting was done around a cord of Indian hemp to give added strength. These twisted strips formed the warp elements of the robe. Indian hemp cord, used as the weft, was twined with the strips of skin in courses a few inches apart.

The recent, or modified Plains type of costume, was more elaborate than either of the preceding styles. Sex differentiation appeared in the principal article of attire. The man's garment became a buckskin shirt (spi'á'lks) (Plate 1, Figure A) with short, tailored sleeves, a V-shaped neck opening and square cut bottom either plain or fringed. In its fashioning two skins, which had been made roughly

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177 rectangular by cutting off the legs, were used. At the neck end of the one which
281 was to become the front a V-shaped opening was cut. The skins were superim-
291 posed and sewed together at either side of the opening. Then the sides were sewed together except near the top where the sleeves were to be inserted. Loose short sleeves were made from the extra parts of the skin and sewed into the apertures. Shirts were usually waist length.

The woman's dress (spi'a'Tks) differed somewhat from the man's shirt. Either the neck or the tail of the skin was uppermost; the bottom was left in the irregular shape natural to the skin; the sleeves were not tailored; the sides were sewed only part way down; and the whole garment was longer. The neck opening was similar to the man's shirt and the skins likewise were cut square at the top; the neck or tail piece was not folded over to fall down in front. The sleeves were simply flaps formed by the leg skin and were very short. The opening for the arms was quite long and the sides were not sewed together below the waist. Knee length was usual for the woman's dress.

The type of moccasin most recently worn by the Sanpoil may have had its origin contemporaneously with the attire just described, but of this we cannot be certain. It was a one piece moccasin shaped to the last of the foot with a vertical seam up the back of the heel and a seam along the inside of the foot and around the front connecting the upper portion to the sole. Long ankle flaps (about eight inches) were attached, to be wrapped around the leg and fastened with buckskin
[531] thongs. Beading was quite common on these moccasins. Moccasins of buffalo skin with the hair on the inside were occasionally made.

[295] Twined basketry hats, subconical in shape, were used to some extent by Sanpoil women, but seem never to have become as popular as they were among the Nez Perce, for instance.

Breechcloths, leggings, mittens and caps were not different in this recent period from those used previously.

Children wore no clothing whatever until near the age of puberty. After that time they assumed adult attire.

DECORATION AND SYMBOLISM IN DRESS

292 Embellishment of articles of clothing, for the most part, was symbolic. Most
301 of the symbolism centered around special abilities conferred by one's guardian
531 spirit, especially shamanistic powers.

755 Scallops or fringes around the bottom of a buckskin shirt indicated that the
776 wearer was proficient in healing one or another disease. In such a case the special ability was traceable to the nature of the individual's guardian spirit, as for instance, one with rattlesnake power was usually able to cure bites of that reptile. The particular cut of the fringe indicated the type of healing power possessed by the person. These were not shamanistic powers, however. Shamans did not wear fringes. Another symbol of similar nature was that used by women who were adept at relieving others who became especially ill during menstruation (meno-

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish Sanpoil

237 292 301 531 755 776 pause?). The symbol was a wide band of red painted around the bottom of the skirt, indicating that the wearer was "standing in her own blood that deep."

The general symbol of a shaman was red bands around the arms or body of the shirt or dress. An old shirt of this sort, seen by Covington, had bands about three inches wide around the bottom, neck and sleeves. In addition, shamans decorated their robes with spangles of red feathers. The quill ends of the feathers were split, flattened, softened in hot water, then bent back and bound with sinew, forming loops through which a buckskin thong was passed. Six or eight feathers were strung together and hung on the back of the robe below each shoulder. Porcupine quills were used in a similar manner. When porcupine quills and feathers were mixed the wearer was supposed to be a shaman of considerable prestige.

292 301 Multiple perforations over the whole of a shirt, placed at random, indicated that its owner possessed a power which rendered him immune to injury from arrows and bullets (Plate 1, Figure A). "The holes were for the arrows." The Sanpoil say that this custom was borrowed from their more warlike neighbors, perhaps the Nez Perce.

292 301 302 776 When a young man wore a string of hemp or thong of buckskin around his head at the level of the forehead it was understood that he was some day to become a shaman. Likewise, a young man who wore his forelocks so tied that they stood erect, thereby announced that he had gained a power which would result in his becoming a great fisherman. A string or piece of bark pendant from the penis indicated the same power.

292 301 531 Many other embellishments of dress doubtless carried with them symbolic significance, but for the remainder of my data informants were not able to ascribe specific interpretations. On the other hand it is quite probable that some ornamentation, as for instance the use of beads and some painting, was practiced for its own sake.

Moccasins were sometimes painted solidly with red or yellow pigments. The shoulders of garments were painted with the same colors. Buckskin was cleaned by rubbing with white clay.

237 292 301 531 Feathers were used very extensively for decorative purposes. Those of the eagle were most highly prized and much effort was expended in their collection. Feathers of the owls and hawks were also commonly used. The larger feathers were often split down the middle. The halves were grouped in bunches and tied to the hair at the back of the head, suspended from bands of fur, worn over the right shoulder and under the left arm or fastened to the clothing at the shoulder. When large whole feathers were worn in the hair, they were never arranged to stand upright. Rather they were allowed to hang from the hair at the back of the head. Or they were suspended in back from a cord fastened around the neck. Usually only two were worn at a time in this manner.

Feathers and weasel skins were hung from the shoulders of garments at either the front or back.

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish Sanpoil

237 292 301 531 Spangles were fashioned from the quills of feathers. A loop for stringing the quills on a cord was made by splitting the large end, sharpening it, doubling the point back and inserting it in the open end. They were used plain or dyed. Groups of short quills were worn around the wrists; longer ones were fastened in bunches to the hair at the back of the head or to the shoulders of robes. Feathers were often used in conjunction with them. Small, brightly colored ones were fastened to the tips of the quills.

Porcupine quills were often sewed to dresses, shirts and leggings. On dresses and shirts they were sewed side by side to form a wide horizontal band along the back of the garment, often near the bottom.

Women commonly decorated the fronts of dresses with rows of elk's teeth. The teeth were placed close together in lines which followed the upper contour of the garment.

Ornamental belts made of the skins of otter were worn by both men and women. Sometimes holes were punched through the otter skin to allow small strips of weasel skin to be woven in and out. Each end of the belt was provided with two holes through which a buckskin thong was passed for tying it together in front. Men, and possibly women, also used headbands of the same kinds of fur, and similarly embellished with strips of weasel pulled through the otter. Later when trade beads were obtained women made and wore beaded headbands.

[439] 301 Beads ground from clam shells were secured by trade from the coast during olden times, and were highly prized. Although clam shells were obtainable in the Columbia river, and ear ornaments were made from them, they were never used for beads. A double handful of the coast beads was equal in value to a large tanned buckskin or a horse. Dentalia were also imported, but were not nearly as valuable, quantity for quantity. Beads of both kinds were strung on buckskin thongs and worn by either men or women. The long strings were looped around and around the neck and allowed to hang in successive rows from the neck to the waist, or strings of different lengths were worn together. Men often wore strings of beads after the fashion of fur bands, over the right shoulder and under the right arm. Babies' wristlets were made of a string of shells, with pendant shells attached to rattle.

The first commercial beads were of the large brass variety. Later long glass ones were obtained and finally the small round ones. Old style modes of decoration were greatly altered by their presence.

Necklaces were made, in addition to beads, of small (whole) river shells (xa'iaks) and of claws, especially those of the bear. The use of claw necklaces was not restricted to those possessing a particular guardian spirit. Holes were pierced in the large ends of the claws for stringing. Bands of buckskin, hung around the neck, were covered with dentalia or porcupine quills sewed side by side. Wristlets were similarly made. Sometimes dentalia were sewed directly to articles of clothing.

A cap ornament consisted of the head skin and feathers of the red-headed woodpecker. Or the feathers were fastened directly to the forelocks of the hair.

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish Sanpoil

Ear ornaments (snátsatci'na) were fashioned from shells of the fresh water clam in various shapes, notably round, triangular and rectangular. The edges were provided with holes through which sinew could be threaded for suspending the ornaments from the holes in the ear. The flat pieces of shell were polished by rubbing with sand and ashes. Rings made from sections of bone were also hung from the ears. Dentalia were not used in this manner. Ear ornaments were worn alike by men and women. 301

Labrets and nose ornaments were not known.

Such ornaments and accoutrements as those described in this section were worn during the winter ceremonial season, at assembly meetings, special ceremonies and when visiting.

FACIAL PAINTING

Facial painting was practiced for decorative, ceremonial and practical purposes. All participants in the winter ceremonials painted their faces. Shamans painted before practicing. Individuals painted to escape or avoid illness, to with- 302 581

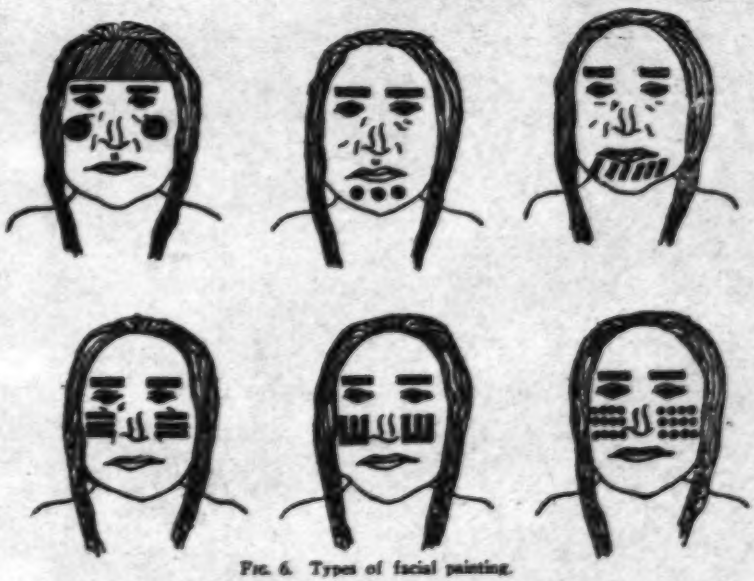

FIG. 6. Types of facial painting.

stand the cold and for a multitude of other reasons. The designs used were almost unlimited, for each person attempted to decorate his face somewhat differently from anyone else. Some designs were dictated by guardian spirits. However, certain designs were more often repeated than others. Some of these are shown in Figure 6. All designs had one feature in common: the eyebrows were always

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish Sanpoil

302 386 531 painted in a straight line, after plucking. The color most commonly used was red. Mineral red was prepared by beating earth containing iron oxide to a powder inside a bag of buckskin, then mixing the powder with coyote fat by rubbing the two together in the palm of the hand. A red vegetable paint was manufactured by grinding the dry wood of the western yew, *Taxus brevifolia* Nutt., (nuknu·'k), and mixing it with fish oil. Other colors were black from charcoal, blue and white from river clays, and greens and yellows from minerals. Much of the mineral pigment was obtained from Tolman mountain (aytu'lman, "paint mountain") where stained rocks and earths were abundant. Mineral powders were mixed variously with water, saliva, or deer grease, or applied dry.

[354] Shamans alone did not share in the multiplicity of designs and colors. They always painted both the face and neck solidly, in red. This was an indication of profession, and no layman was allowed to use it. One variation was possible. Lateral halves of the face might be painted in two different colors, red and yellow.

Sometimes an individual's guardian spirit spoke to him thus: "When I become ill and vomit blood I wipe it on my face in this manner. Then I become well." Thereafter the person painted his face in the manner indicated, usually with a band from cheek to cheek, around the chin, and had great power to withstand illness. A person with power to withstand severely cold weather painted his forehead white. "The storm could beat against his face and he wouldn't feel it." When a man was seen with white forehead painting it was understood as presaging stormy weather. Sometimes a man dreamed how to paint his face to obtain a desired end.

Types of facial painting designs other than those illustrated included solid painting of the forehead (as above), solid painting of one lateral half of the face, and painting of the chin only. The backs of the hands were often painted, but indulgence in body painting was very slight. Both sexes painted; designs were not sex differentiated. Paint was not used as a protection against sunburn.

HAIR DRESS

302 The common male hair dress consisted essentially of two long braids which were allowed to fall in front of the body, and loose forelocks which were combed back. The hair was parted in the middle and the plaiting started on each side below the ear. The long forelocks combed back over the part fell loosely down the back. Quite often the number of braids was increased to four, two on each side. The side braids were made as usual, starting below the ears, but without including the forward locks, which were plaited separately into small braids, starting near the scalp. Sometimes the small braids were worked into the large ones near the extremities of the former. In addition the forelocks were sometimes plaited. When so dressed the braid was usually folded together and tied into a knot above the forehead.

Some men, especially the younger ones, permitted the hair to fall down the back without braiding. As a part of this style of dress the long forelocks were usually tied together near the scalp with thongs of buckskin painted red, or strips

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish Sanpoil

of otter or weasel skin. The binding strip was wrapped twice around the locks, tied in a bow knot and the hair thrown back. If the strands were short it was customary to gather the ends together, tie them, and suspend a weasel skin from the extremity. 302

Braids were often covered throughout their length with strips of otter skin sewed together. Strips of buckskin covered with porcupine quills were used likewise. The quills were used in their natural form or flattened after soaking in hot water. Holes for the thread were made with bone awls. The quills were sewed side by side on the buckskin strip, not end to end. Sometimes quills were inserted directly into the braids.

Braids were quite commonly tied together at the ends and weasel or otter skins, or shells attached for ornamentation. The use of feathers has already been described. Braids never were allowed to hang down the back.

Men who had been given power to become good warriors by their guardian spirits caused the short forelocks to their hair to stand in an erect tuft by admixing white clay with the strands. Other individuals occasionally colored the forelocks or the ends of braids with red paint.

Women always wore their hair braided except during mourning, when it was cut short and never combed. There was practically no variation in style. The part was in the middle, as with men, but the forelocks were never left loose or braided separately. Then too the plaiting did not start below the ear but behind it. The braids, which ordinarily fell in front, but occasionally in back, were nearly always tied together at their ends. Often the braids then were raised over the head, the knot allowed to rest on the back of the neck and the braids to fall in two loops, one in front of each shoulder.

Women tied pendants to the ends of braids or wrapped them with otter skin, as did the men. In addition they much more commonly painted the hair. Red or yellow pigment was mixed with a little water in the palm of the hand, then rubbed into the hair to lighten it, then spots of red added by dipping the fingers in paint and touching the tips to the hair.

Both men and women lately painted the scalp where it was exposed by the part, but natives consider this custom a recent innovation.

To add gloss both sexes rubbed salmon oil into the hair. To accomplish this end and at the same time to perfume the hair deer marrow which had been mixed with dried and pulverised hemlock needles was employed. Another method of applying oil to the hair was to rub it with testes of the beaver which had been wrapped in buckskin and allowed to stand until the oil soaked through. Such bags containing testes were worn attached to the clothing to be ready for use when desired. They were rubbed on the clothing and body as well as the hair.

Children's hair was allowed to remain loose until perhaps eight or ten years of age. After that time the hair of a boy was combed and dressed by his mother, that of a girl by herself. Young boys sometimes had the hair cut in bangs. Two styles of plaiting were popular. One consisted of a single braid down the back, the other of three, one in back and one at each side. During puberty girls parted

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their hair in the middle, braided each side and rolled the braids up to the ear and tied them in knots at the sides of the head. After puberty adult hair dress was assumed. 302

After about eighteen years of age a man combed and dressed his own hair until married. Subsequent to marriage that task became one of his wife's duties.

In the manufacture of a comb (Plate 2, Figure E) several slender sharpened sticks of hardwood were first prepared. Each was about four inches long and an eighth of an inch in diameter. These formed the teeth of the comb. They were bound side by side in a fan shape by twining with Indian hemp cord in two courses. One course, at the base of the comb, was very tightly woven. The other course, about midway of the teeth, was of coarser cord and served to spread the teeth apart. 302 412

Combs were not worn in the hair. [301]

CARE OF THE BODY

From early infancy the development of the body was carefully attended with an eye to achieving strength, hardihood and a pleasing appearance. The ideal male was tall, slim and light complexioned; the desirable female type of medium stature and build, also light in complexion and long haired. A mother faithfully massaged the muscles of a baby to insure strength and length of limb, and rubbed the nose to keep it straight and the chin to keep it short. Each morning and evening the child was bathed in water containing boiled roots called kəmɪtawiya'kɪ'n. 826 855 856

Head flattening was not practiced. In fact, a flat forehead was considered ugly and considerable efforts were directed at keeping the head of the child round during the formative period. Inner bark of the sagebrush, finely shredded, was used as a pillow in the cradle. 304 856

When young girls began to braid their hair it was customary to bind fairly heavy stones to the bottoms of the braids in order that the hair might grow very long. Boys and girls washed their hair at least once each day, adults slightly less often. A shampoo was usually used. The object was seldom cleansing, but rather to aid the hair in its growth. The root of the sunflower, *Helianthus annus* L., (wuγwaγkȧ'lpᵃ, "frog plant"), was cleaned and macerated to make the shampoo. 302 515 856

Children were required to bathe immediately upon arising each morning, summer and winter. Boys had regular places on the river where they went for their morning plunge; girls used others. The primary object of this procedure again was not cleansing, but in this case fortification and the building up of resistant power. 515 751

The bathing of adults was almost exclusively in connection with the use of the sweat lodge. After each session in the lodge a quick plunge was made into a stream or lake. Sweat lodges were always built adjacent to some body of water. The plunge was indulged in for its invigorating effect after the ennervating steam bath. The bath itself must be reckoned as the most important mode of caring 515

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

for the cleanliness of the body, although in the mind of the native the lodge's most significant function was undoubtedly ceremonial.

The sweat lodge (kwi'l'stɑn) was a hemispherical structure six to eight feet in diameter. The framework (Plate 3, Figure A) was made of willow branches bent into semicircular shape and stuck into the ground. First one parallel series of bent limbs was erected, varying in size, to conform to the desired shape, then another series was placed crossing these at right angles. The intersections were tied preferably with rawhide, but sometimes hemp or willow bark cord was used. The frame was covered with a thick layer of dry grass and a coating of dirt four to six inches thick. The opening provided was roughly square, each dimension being about two feet. It was covered with short pieces of plank or a robe when in use. The ground inside was covered with fir boughs, grasses or pine needles, frequently renewed. Temporary sweat lodges were simply frames covered with skins or mats.

The sweat bath was essentially a steam bath, produced by throwing water on hot stones. The stones were thoroughly heated in a fire built just outside of the lodge, then dragged inside and placed in a pile at the right of the opening as one entered. The bather took in with him a basket full of water. After closing the opening and taking up the customary squattin, or kneeling position, he dipped his hand in the water and sprinkled the hot rocks. A sharp sizzling occurred, accompanied by a great cloud of steam. The steam, although it could not be seen in the intense darkness, was soon felt. The bather was forced to place his head near the ground in order to keep from scalding his lungs with the hot vapors. From time to time more water was thrown on the rocks until the temperature and humidity in the tiny enclosure was raised to a point where no further increase could be endured. All the while the bather was singing a sweat house song.[1] He remained inside five minutes, or perhaps seven or eight, but seldom longer. After his plunge upon emerging, however, he often re-entered, continuing the alternation for an hour or so. Women, too, made much use of the sweat bath, either using separate lodges, or the same ones when not in use by the men. Frequent repetition of these sweating sessions assured the elimination of the dirt that would soon otherwise have clogged the pores of persons exposed to the dust of the desert and inhabiting dirt floored houses.

Cleansing agents were used in washing the hands, face and body. The commonest was the leaves of the western clematis, *Clematis ligusticifolia* Nutt., (qɑtsɑ̀suni'na', "tangle-owl"), which were rubbed together in the water to form a lather. The leaves of another plant, called naxaxuaxa'it, were used likewise. Sand served as an abrasive for removing dirt.

Adult males removed the sparse hair growth from the face with the aid of tweezers (laqtcɑntcu'tɑn). Often a part of the hair on the forehead was also plucked to achieve straight hair edge lines. Eyebrows, too, were plucked until only a narrow straight line remained. The latter practice was common to both men and women, and very nearly universal. Tweezers assumed various forms. Three types were made of bone, one of wood. The bones selected were usually ribs of small mammals, since they were of the proper size and very flexible. In each type the

[1] See page 179.

2: Ray E.-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish Sanpoil

303 pincer ends were made broad and thin. In two forms the bases of the bones composing the tweezers were fastened rigidly together, in one case with rivets of bone, (Figure 7, a); in the other with wrappings of sinew (Figure 7, b). In the

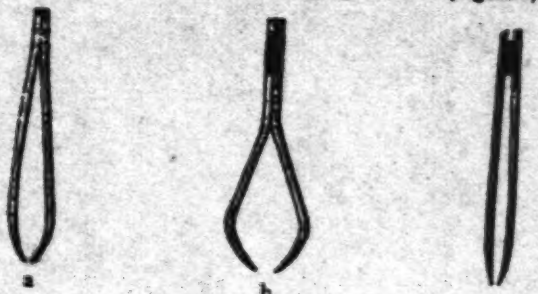

FIG 7. Tweezers.

former the arms were gently curved, in the latter they were angular. The third type (Figure 7, c) consisted of two bone arms pivoted at the base and bound with sinew. The points only were curved. The wooden tweezer (Plate 2, Figure H) was fashioned from a single piece of hardwood. It resembled a slender handled fork with two wide prongs. This was the largest of the types, averaging six inches in length. Tweezers were sometimes painted.

FISHING

Throughout the year fish was relied upon as the principal article of sustenance by the Sanpoil, as well as other peoples along the Columbia river. Salmon, *Oncorhynchus*, (ɔnɔsi'ulkʷ), and steelhead trout, *Salmo gairdneri*, (xumi'nɑ'), were caught in large numbers each summer, a portion to be used as fresh food at the time but the greater percentage to be dried and stored for winter consumption. No other river in the world has been as productive of salmon as the Columbia;[1] enormous numbers of these fish ascend the river each year for the purpose of spawning. Of the five species of salmon which frequent the Columbia and its tributaries all but one reach the portion of the river which flows through the Sanpoil country. These are the chinook or king salmon, *O. tschawytscha*, (ɔnti·'tix), the silver or white salmon, *O. kisutch*, (stsuwi'n), the humpback or pink salmon, *O. gorbuscha*, and the dog or chum salmon, *O. keta*, (ki'su'). The fifth species, the sockeye or blueback salmon, *O. nerka*, is seldom found farther upstream than the mouth of the Okanogan river, which is below Sanpoil territory.

Salmon is present in the middle Columbia from May until November. Some are still to be found even later in the winter, but the flesh is hardly edible, due to deterioration after spawning. Steelhead trout run from early March until July.[2] The steelheads found in this area vary from ten to fifteen pounds in weight and from two feet to thirty inches in length. Following the steelheads is the summer or chinook run of salmon, occurring during May, June and July.[3] The chinook is the largest of the salmon; those found in the Columbia average twenty-two pounds in weight but occasionally a single fish weighs as much as a hundred pounds.[4] In the fall a double run occurs, bringing the silver and dog salmons. These species appear during the latter part of August or early in September and continue to run through November. The flesh of both remains edible throughout this period. Neither variety is large in size, the average weight for each being about six pounds. The humpback salmon, although found in this region, is present only in negligible quantities.

Varieties of fish other than salmon and steelhead were not overlooked although economically they were of minor importance. Among these were sturgeon, lamprey eel, whitefish, suckers, chub fish, and mountain, speckled and bull trout. Chub fish, *Semotilus* sp. (?), were caught principally during May; they ranged about ten or twelve inches in length. Two varieties of suckers, *Catostomus* sp., were obtained, known as black suckers and yellow suckers. The former were present in the river from April until fall; the latter did not appear until May. After June, however, neither kind was considered edible. Eels were taken during the second half of the year, but were not considered desirable food. Whitefish, *Mylocheilus caurinus*

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[1] Cobb, *Pacific Salmon Fisheries*, page 25.
[2] This was the statement of my informants. Cobb says, in speaking of the steelhead, "In the Columbia River the spawning season is from February to *May*....." (*ibid.*, page 11).
[3] Two other runs of the chinook species enter the Columbia, one preceding the May run, and one following it, but in both cases the fish spawn in the lower tributaries of the river, seldom reaching the middle course (*ibid.*, page 8).
[4] *Ibid.*, page 7.

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(?), were obtainable from March until fall, but were taken principally during August, at which time they were considered most desirable. Sturgeon, *Acipenser transmontanus*, were also caught in August. Kettle Falls was a favorite spot for sturgeon fishing. Various kinds of shellfish were used as food to a limited extent. They were procurable at any time in the year, but were gathered chiefly during the winter and early spring months to supplement the stored foods. Salmon eggs were collected in large numbers during the spawning season.

Intensive fishing began each year about the first of May. At this time the root gathering range on the south side of the Columbia was generally deserted and the summer mat houses[1] were rebuilt at the fishing stations. Trapping and spear fishing began at approximately the same time. All fishing sites on the Columbia river itself were devoted exclusively to spearing or netting, except Kettle Falls. The river below the falls is much too wide and variable to allow the use of any kind of trap. All of the streams flowing into the Columbia between Brewster and Kettle Falls, on the other hand, were provided with traps. The Spokane Indians even succeeded in building a trap across the Spokane river near its mouth although the river is over one hundred feet wide at that point. The larger of the streams provided valuable spearing stations as well, and made possible a longer season for spearing since the seasonal fluctuation in volume of water in these streams did not present as serious problems as it did in the case of the Columbia.

SPEAR FISHING

The location on the Columbia of a summer camp was determined by the presence of a rapids suitable for successful fishing (ska·ke'tam). The river varies from a quarter to a half mile in width along this portion of its course; therefore, spear fishing could be pursued profitably only at points where the fish were forced to pass through narrow passages, as in the case of rapids. At these sites artificial channels were cleared and deflecting weirs were built so that the ascending fish would be restricted still more in the choice of a route. The first duty after the establishment of camp was the preparation of these channels. During the early part of May the river is very low; it is highest toward the latter part of June. Since the spearing season lasted throughout this period it was necessary to have new channels available for use at successive stages in the rise of the river. Usually three were constructed. In excavating the first it was necessary to work under water since it was for immediate use. A point in the rapids where the water was three or four feet deep was selected. A channel, running parallel to the bank, was excavated for a length of about twenty feet. Rocks and sand were removed until a depth of three feet, a width at the bottom of two feet and at the top of six feet, was attained. As the rocks were taken out they were piled on the side of the channel opposite the bank to form a sort of bulkhead. As a result the wall on that side reached within about a foot of the surface of the water, increasing the effective depth of the channel to four or five feet. In order that the fish might be seen more easily as they passed through the channel the bottom was covered

[1] See pages 34-35.

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
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with rocks of white quartz.[4] In the early part of the season the salmon and trout appeared to be green as they passed over these rocks; later on, as the spawning progressed, their actual pigmentation became deeper, causing them to stand out clearly in contrast to the white bottom. It was occasionally necessary to remove the film or scum which soon collected on the quartz. This was accomplished by a diver who held himself down (when the depth of the water necessitated), by grasping a pole placed vertically in the water and held from above.

The sites for the second and third channels to be used later in the season, were selected and the excavations made while the river was still low, thus eliminating the necessity of working below the surface of the water. The white rocks lining the bottom might be laid at the time the digging was done, or not until utilization began. In the former case the rocks had to be cleaned just prior to the use of the channel, for during the rise of the river discoloration inevitably occurred.

The spearing of fish as they swam up the channel was accomplished from a staging built from the bank to the inshore side of the channel. The platform of this staging was roughly triangular in shape, with one side placed directly above the inner edge of the passage and the opposite point resting on shore. Construction began with the building of two tripods, one for each end of the channel, to support the outer edge of the platform. These were made of stout saplings of pine and tied securely at the apex with withes of willow or the service berry bush. They were assembled on the shore, then raised and placed in position in the river. The bases were oriented as in the case of the platform itself. The apex of each support was left far enough above the surface to allow for the maximum height that the river would attain during the use of that station. The lower ends of the saplings were set in small pits and boulders were piled around to hold them in place. Two long poles, likewise of pine, were used to complete the foundation. One pole extended from the apex of each tripod to the shore, at which point it rested on the ground about two feet from the other. Upon these poles were laid slats or cedar, saplings and branches of various sorts, from the shore to the channel to serve as flooring for the platform. This completed the platform proper. However, the upper transverse pole of the staging was used also as a foundation for a weir to prevent the fish from swimming under the platform rather than through the runway. Small poles, usually of willow, three or four feet long, were extended vertically from this pole to the bed of the river at intervals of approximately a foot. With this as a base, a crude dam or weir was formed by gathering branches of bushes and driftwood and placing them haphazardly against the upright poles. A certain amount of tying was necessary to hold the brush fast, but since the weir formed an acute angle with the shore the current of the river helped to hold the loose material in position. When working from the top of the staging a forked stick was used to force the brush into place. A knowledge of the correct angle at which to place the weir (and hence, the upper horizontal pole of the staging) was essential for successful construction.

[4] John Tom stated that the quartz was brought from the mountains for this purpose. This seems unlikely, however, for boulders of white quartz are plentiful along the Columbia.

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish Sanpoil

226 Platforms were required only on the Columbia river and at certain points on the Spokane and Okanogan rivers. In smaller streams, such as the Sanpoil and the Nespelem, spearing was accomplished from the bank or by wading into the water. Spear fishing from canoes was practiced in the Columbia during the fall, especially for the white or silver salmon, but at that time of year the river is too low to permit the use of channels and staging.

Blinds were often built on the smaller streams to assist the spearman. A flat thatched roof was erected several feet above the water across a part or all of the stream. The fisherman stationed himself beneath this sun shelter. The moment a fish entered the shaded area it was temporarily unable to see, while the spearman's vision was aided by the shade, and thus he was enabled to spear the fish without difficulty.

Night fishing, both from staging and from canoes, was practiced with the aid of torches (tsi'kusxən) made from pine pitch wood.

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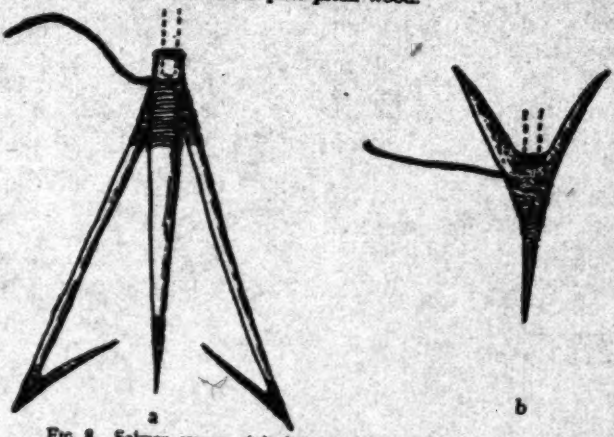

a b

FIG. 8. Salmon spears; (a) three pronged, (b) single pronged.

A fishing station (xalu'sxam) was the common property of the members of the settlement where it was located. Only one man at a time used the platform. Each man present at the fishing site was entitled to a turn and was privileged to retain the position until he had speared one fish, then the post reverted to another. Ordinarily each man had his own spear, but if a stranger were present and had none he would be supplied and allowed to take his turn with the others. Even though an individual were alone at a station he was seldom able to continue spearing for longer than about a half hour at one time because of the strain on the eyes from the reflection of the sun in the water.

FISH SPEARS

The common fish spear used for the smaller varieties of salmon was the single pronged type of bone and horn, called sxu·'lakən, (Figure 8, b). The foreshaft of the spear consisted of a V-shaped piece of horn a few inches in length. A socket

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for receiving the main shaft was hollowed in the fork. A sharp point of bone was attached to the head of the foreshaft, giving the whole the shape of a Y. The point was made fast to the body by wrapping with cord of Indian hemp and the application of pine pitch. Pieces of bone suitable for use as spear points were obtained by heating in a fire a section of bone, preferably from the leg of a deer, until it splintered. Fragments of approximately the correct size were chosen and shaped with stone scrapers. Shafts were made of fir, selected for straightness and freedom from knots. In some cases poles seem to have been used after merely removing the bark and in other instances the pole was apparently split down the middle and each half scraped and worked until an elliptical cross section was obtained, one pole thus furnishing two shafts. The shaft was detachable from the foreshaft which held the point, but connected to it by a short cord. The end selected for attachment to the foreshaft was rounded and tapered to fit snugly but not tightly into the socket. The connecting cord was an extension of the one binding the foreshaft to the point. Two or three feet of slack was allowed between the point and the shaft. When a fish was speared the shaft left the socket and the fish could be played and drawn in by means of the cord and the shaft. The length of the shaft varied, depending upon the place at which it was to be used, from fifteen to twenty feet or sometimes more.

A large three-pronged spear (wi·'tcka) (Figure 8, a) was used for large salmon, principally the chinook. Its use was restricted to instances where an approximately vertical thrust could be obtained. It was therefore used extensively in fishing from canoes. The foreshaft consisted of a socket with three prongs; a center prong which was tapered and projected in line with the mainshaft, and two side prongs at angles of about thirty degrees to the center prong. The socket for the main shaft was hollowed in the large end of the middle prong, which was made of hardwood of any variety. The small end was tipped with a point of bone, obtained in the same manner as for the small spear. The two side prongs were of ocean spray, *Holodiscus discolor* Max., (mutc'mutci'lp^{u}) a resilient wood; they were somewhat longer than the center prong, or about fifteen inches. These prongs were pointed and each was fitted with a single barb. The barbs were of bone and bound with cord of Indian hemp. Heavy cord of the same material was used to fasten the side prongs to the center one, and extended, as in the case of the small spear, to be attached to the main shaft. This shaft was similar to that of the small spear, both in shape and length.

TRAP FISHING

By far the most productive mode of taking fish, especially salmon and trout, was by means of traps. Within Sanpoil territory the principal traps were located near the mouth of the Sanpoil river, at npui·'lux^{u}, and below the falls on the Nespelem river, at nspi·'lam. The traps in the smaller streams, however, also produced very considerable quantities of fish. Usually only a single trap was placed in each stream, but in the Sanpoil and Nespelem rivers sometimes two or even three traps could be profitably maintained. Kettle Falls, in Colville terri-

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226 tory, was probably the most important fishing site on the Columbia river above The Dalles. Due to the proximity of the falls and the friendly attitude of the people, many of the Sanpoil camped there during the fishing season. The large trap constructed by the Spokane Indians near the mouth of the Spokane river was also of importance to the Sanpoil since many whose winter homes were nearby moved to this site for the duration of the summer.[7]

Several types of weirs (stəmu's), funnel traps (nuxuli·'kən), and the basket traps (t'səli''), and a unique elevated trap (pəpəmi'p) were used, the choice of type being determined by the exigencies of the location.

COMMUNAL TRAPS

The weir was really a composite affair, consisting of two weirs (sntapi'us) and one or more traps. The principal forms assumed are described below. A variant, with a single weir, was used for small fish. Weirs were employed where the water was shallow and the stream bed firm. The most common salmon weir-trap (Figure 9) was composed of two parallel weirs extending entirely across the stream at right angles to the bank, and separated from each other by eighty or a hundred feet. In one of the inside corners formed by the downstream weir and

FIG. 9. Diagram of common salmon weir-trap.

the bank was placed a small rectangular trap into which the salmon were driven before they were removed from the enclosed area. Open willow fencing formed the weirs. The fencing was held in place by supports (sqwaiaxwa·ə'luk^{w}) built in the form of a tripod and connected to each other by long poles (qəma'nki'lutən). In constructing the upper weir two or three of these tripods, depending upon the width of the stream, were first assembled. The size of the poles used in building the supports was determined by the depth of the water at the site where they were to be used, but averaged ten or twelve feet in length and six to eight inches in diameter. Only poles of cottonwood were used in the construction of the weir foundation.

226 [773] This restriction, as related in the mythology, was dictated by Coyote when he first introduced salmon into the Sanpoil country.[8] Of the completed supports,

[7] See page 19.

[8] Cottonwood and willow were practically the only trees growing on the banks of these streams. Moreover, cottonwood was easily felled, and light to handle.

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one was placed on the bank at the edge of the water, one on the opposite bank, and if a third was used, it usually was set at approximately the middle of the stream. Skilful workmen were required for this duty, since it often involved working in deep water. The cross poles connecting the supports were raised about two feet above the surface of the water. Sections of saplings were cut the necessary length to reach from the transverse poles to the bed of the stream and placed in this position at intervals of about twelve inches. In the meantime other men were occupied with weaving the fencing. Young branches of the Scouler willow, *Salix Scouleriana* Barratt, (si·'lu, "young growth") were used exclusively for this purpose. The withes used for the weft were made flexible by twisting and rolling on the thigh; this task fell to the older men who were unable to take part in the heavier work.

The prepared weft elements were woven with the more rigid warps, by the open twine method, into sections of the required width and a length of approximately twenty feet. These were called qlaxe". The sections were rolled up, carried to the site of the weir, and unrolled in upright position against the previously laid supports. Workmen, wading and swimming in the stream, securely fastened the fencing to the foundation. Care was taken to leave no open spaces between the bottom of the weir and the bed of the stream. A row of stones was laid along the bottom of the weir on either side, to anchor it in place. All apertures due to irregularities in the stream bed were filled. A weir was never located where the stream bottom was covered with large boulders, for such a situation rendered it impossible to close effectively all the holes below the weir. The fish were certain to find openings between the rocks that would permit escape. Likewise, a weir built upon a sandy stream bed was of no value, for the sands would soon wash out and leave holes beneath.

The lower weir was similar in construction to the main one, but smaller. It was less carefully constructed and extended only slightly above the surface of the water. At several points openings were left of sufficient size to permit a large salmon to enter. The two weirs thus formed a large enclosure in which fish accumulated during the night. In ascending the stream they would find their way through the openings in the lower weir but would be repulsed by the one above. Since all the efforts of the fish were bent upon travelling upstream to spawn, the smaller weir, though low and containing openings, was a sufficient barrier to keep them within the enclosure.

To facilitate removal of the fish from this large area, a basket-like trap (skɛmuqu'al) (Figure 9) was built against the bank at one end of the lower weir. The usual size was three feet wide, six feet long and three feet deep. An aperture was provided in the end of this trap, and from that opening a deflecting barrier extended at an angle upstream until it reached within a few feet of the opposite bank. Thus the opening to the trap was at the point of a V-shaped figure formed by the barrier and the shore. When the large trap was to be emptied several men waded into the water and drove the fish into the small trap, the deflecting weir assisting them by directing them to the opening. Other workers clubbed the fish and threw them onto the bank as fast as they accumulated, thus avoiding piling

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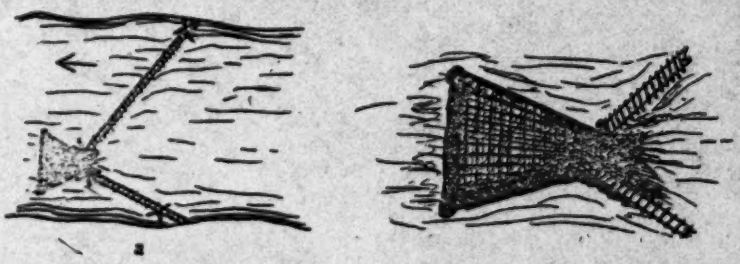
226 285 up of the fish and resultant loss from some jumping over the top in the confusion. Salmon billets were merely plain wooden clubs about sixteen inches long and two inches in diameter. It was always difficult to drive the last few fish from the large enclosure into the smaller one. Usually these were taken by spearing.

A second and more elaborate form of the large salmon trap substituted for the straight lower weir a V-shaped barrier (ɛtstɑpɑ'χɔn, "wings"), with a small elevated trap (pɑpɑmi'p) placed at the point of the V for collecting the fish. Thus the whole lower construction assumed roughly the shape of an hour glass (Figure 10, a). One side of the V was made longer than the other in order that the small trap might be fairly close to the bank, away from the heavy current of the stream. Four tripods were necessary for the construction of such a weir. One was placed near each bank and one at either side of the elevated trap. The weir, moreover, was woven with greater care than in the straight type. Only two small openings (sɑluxsi 'n) were provided, one in each side of the weir, for the entrance of the fish. These were made by spreading apart the willow elements until an aperture a foot or two in diameter was obtained. A space about one foot wide was left between the two sections of the weir. The small end of the elevated trap opened into this space.



a b

FIG. 10. (a) Diagram of V shaped weir with elevated trap. (b) Elevated trap enlarged.

The elevated trap (Figure 10, b) was a unique arrangement for collecting the fish and keeping them out of the water, so that there was no possibility of escape and no difficulty in removal. The base plan of the trap was triangular. The fish entered at the apex of the triangle, where the only opening in the trap was provided; this opening was made to correspond in size to the opening at the angle of the weir, and placed flush with it. The trap was woven of willow withes in open twining in the form of a basket. The distance from the apex to the base was three or four feet, and the base was of about the same length. Since the top was not closed it was necessary to make the basket deep enough so that the fish could not jump over the sides, usually about three feet. The width of the opening in the basket and in the weir was about twelve inches. The elevated trap was secured in the proper position at the outlet of the weir by four vertical posts, one at each end of the base, and one on either side of the apex. The basket was so fastened

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to these supports that the bottom was just above the surface of the water. From the bed of the stream in the enclosure formed by the weir to a point several inches inside the small trap, and about a foot above the trap bottom, extended a stiff, tightly woven mat of willow, forming a sort of runway. This was anchored at the lower end with boulders, and elevated and secured at the upper end by a transverse pole, extending between the supporting poles of the trap. All holes except the narrow opening between the two traps were filled with rocks and gravel. Due to the barrier formed by the weir and the runway, the water rose somewhat in the area just above the weir opening, and poured through with considerable force, then fell through the openwork bottom of the elevated trap.

The upstream weir was made exactly as in the preceding description. The salmon, travelling upstream, passed through the holes in the lower weir, then attempted to swim through or jump over the upper weir. This was impossible but they continued their attempts until exhausted. In this state they were gradually carried back downstream by the current. Due to the shape of the lower weir they gravitated toward the opening leading to the elevated trap, whereupon they were swept through by the force of the water and found themselves upon the bottom of the trap, suspended above the water's surface. Return was impossible, since they were out of water, and because the runway overhung inside the trap. When the regular hour for collecting the fish arrived it was only necessary to lift them from the trap. The few which possibly remained inside the weirs were easily driven into the trap.

Still another type of small trap was a hemispherical basket with the straight side formed by a section of the upper weir. It was called skamuqua'l'. It was placed on the downstream side of the weir, near one bank. The spherical portion extended two or three feet above the water's surface, but not as high as the weir. The diameter of the basket ranged around six feet. The framework consisted of a small tripod at the midpoint of the arc, and horizontal flexible willow poles bent around this tripod and fastened at either end to the weir. Against this was fastened a large willow mat as in the case of the weir. The salmon that attempted to jump over the weir at the point where the basket was located fell back into it and were unable to escape. Naturally, this trap was much less efficient than the one previously described. It was sometimes used in conjunction with one of the other types.

True basket traps (t'soli") proved valuable in streams and rivers where a waterfall of a few feet or more was available. These were rectangular baskets woven in the open twine technique from flexible willow branches. The top was left open but all sides and the bottom were made tight. In use, such a basket was hung at the base of the falls, a foot or two from its face, but with the bottom touching the water. When a fish made an unsuccessful attempt to jump the falls it would often drop back into the basket from which it could easily be taken. A support for the basket was provided, when the stream was not too wide, by felling a log from bank to bank, near the edge of the falls. From this log the fish basket was suspended by willow rope from each of its upper corners. At the larger falls, especially Kettle Falls, where immense numbers of salmon were taken by this

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226 285 method, much more elaborate apparatus was necessary for swinging the basket. The usual method was to project large poles or logs out over the falls by securing their bases in crevices in the jagged rocks at the top of the falls. Additional support for the poles was added, if necessary, in the form of willow ropes extending from the projecting ends to some point above. Notches were cut at the outer extremities of the poles to receive loops which were provided in the ends of the ropes supporting the basket. In placing the trap in position the ropes from which it was suspended were pushed out on the projecting logs until the loops slipped into the notches. Access to the trap was made possible by a ladder of willow bark rope. In removing the fish from the trap one end of a rope, which was suspended from above, was strung through the gills of several fish and tied. It was then hauled up by helpers at the top, the fish taken off, and the rope let down again. At Kettle Falls it was necessary for some one to be in charge of the trap at all times when it was in use. The volume of water going over the falls varies greatly from time to time during the day, the heavy surges carrying with them large amounts of driftwood. If this had been allowed to fall upon the trap it would soon have demolished it. To overcome this danger a heavy line was attached to the trap and extended to one of the numerous small rock islands. By means of this rope a watchman was able to pull the trap away from the falls when there was a possibility of its being damaged. At night, and at all other times when the trap was not being utilized it was pulled free of the falls and the line made fast.

PRIVATELY OWNED TRAPS

The funnel trap (xuxuli·'kən) was employed principally in the smaller streams in conjunction with a small weir. It was constructed and operated by a single individual. In swift and turbulent water it was placed with mouth downstream and with small barriers extending on either side. Fish inadvertently entered the mouth of the trap in a blind attempt to get past the rough stretch of water. In smooth or shallow water a weir was first erected across the stream and the trap was placed just below this with the mouth facing upstream. The fish, upon finding progress impeded by the weir, eventually turned and swam about, some making their way into the trap. This form of trap was not used below rapids or falls. The mouth of the funnel was built approximately square. Willow poles connected the mouth with another square frame, much smaller in size, forming the opposite end of the funnel. These poles were six to twelve feet long, depending upon the length desired for the trap. The poles were fastened at equal intervals of a few inches around the edge of the square frame. The small end opened into a large basket, also built of willow saplings. The whole trap was anchored in place with heavy rocks.

Another individually owned trap was a diminutive form of the large combination weir-elevated trap (pəpəni'p) described in the previous section, but minus the upper weir (Plate 3, Figure B). It was used principally for the smaller fish, such as trout, whitefish and suckers. The elevated trap was made identically as the one previously described. The mouth in this case, too, faced downstream.

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The weir was built in the same shape, but much less carefully. The weir proper extended for only a few feet on each side of the trap. From each end of the weir to the bank a dam was formed of boulders and logs. The weir was made as usual but was twined at only three places. It was not set to stand vertically, but slanted somewhat, forming an obtuse angle down stream.

The owner of such a trap emptied it each morning and in the evening.

NETTING

Netting was the least important method of fishing practiced by the Sanpoil, but it was better adapted to certain conditions and seasons than either trapping or spearing. Where the water of the Columbia was turbid or rough nets (mu'lx-mən, an'xwian) were used to advantage, for they were not visible to the fish under such conditions. The dip net was useless, however, when the water became shallow. In the fall white salmon and dog salmon were taken in considerable quantities with seines.

Nets were used from natural ledges over the water or from specially constructed platforms. Sometimes net fishing was done from the regular spearing platform. All fish caught with a net were the property of the individual fisherman.

The common dip net used for salmon and suckers was called kwa'i'x^{a} (Figure 11). It consisted of a hoop of willow or maple two or three feet in diameter, from which was suspended a bag-like net. At opposite sides of the hoop were fastened two poles about six feet long. These poles were bound together at the top, forming a handle in the shape of an inverted V. Fastened transversely from handle to handle, about four inches above the hoop, was a strip of netting six inches or more wide. A slack cord extended from the strip of netting to the point where the handles crossed.

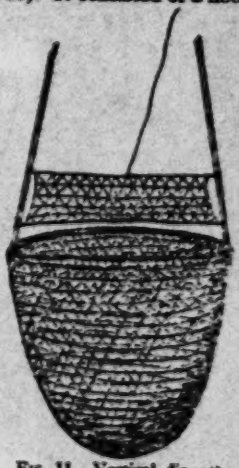

FIG. 11. Vertical dip net.

In use the net was submerged vertically in the water so that the cross net was at right angles to the current and well below the surface. The upper end of the slack cord was looped around the thumb of the fisherman and pulled tight. The net was held in this position until a fish struck the cross net. The fisherman was made aware of the presence of the fish by the increase of tension on the cord. Immediately he pulled the net upward with a sudden motion. The fish was thus ensnared in the bag net, and removed from the water.

The mesh size in the nets for salmon was two or three inches; for smaller fish such as suckers the mesh was usually about one-half inch. The depth of the bag net was about three feet for salmon, but much less for the smaller fish.

Another type of salmon net (Figure 12, b) was provided with a handle in the same plane as the hoop, and was used with a sweeping motion. The hoop

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was of willow about three-quarters of an inch in diameter. Across the hoop, but off center, was fastened a small pole of willow. One end of the pole which served as a handle was anchored to this cross piece; the handle was again fastened at the point where it crossed the loop. The handle was made preferably of cedar. The average length was six feet, the average diameter two inches. The net suspended from the hoop was similar to the one previously described. In turbid water this net was swept with a slow motion through the water in downstream direction. When a salmon was netted it was necessary to play it for some time before it could be lifted from the water.

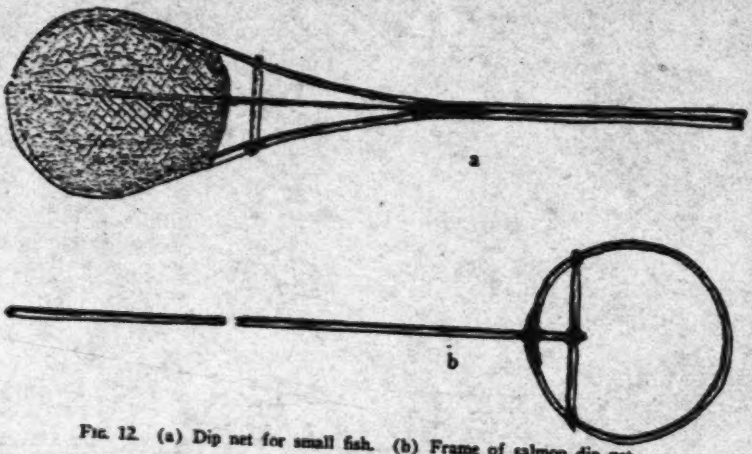

FIG. 12. (a) Dip net for small fish. (b) Frame of salmon dip net.

The third type of net (Figure 12, a) was used especially for eels, but also for small fish. Here again the net was of the same form, but the hoop and handle differed. The opening of the net ranged around two feet in diameter, and the depth averaged twelve inches. The hoop and the handle were formed by a single piece of willow. The withe was bent double and the ends were bound together, forming the handle. About half the distance from the handle to the hoop end a cross piece six or eight inches long was fastened to hold the two sides apart. A cord was attached to the hoop at the point opposite the handle and then stretched tightly and secured to the cross piece. This caused the doubled willow pole to open forming a hoop, and raised the extreme point of the hoop somewhat above the plane of the handle. When this net was used the cross piece was grasped in the left hand, the extending handle in the right, and the net drawn through the water.

The purse type of net was not known.

Indian hemp cord was used for making all types of nets.

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SEINE FISHING

The average seine was thirty or forty feet long and about six feet wide, made of cord spun from Indian hemp. The size of the mesh was usually about six inches. Ropes about twenty feet long were attached to each end of the seine on the upper side. At the loose end of one rope was tied as large block of cedar which was charred so that it might more easily be seen at night. It was called an "otter" (lat'ku·'). The water surrounding it would reflect the light, but the black block would not. Along the upper edge floats were placed at intervals of about twenty inches, and directly opposite each float, on the lower edge, were placed sinkers.

FIG. 13. Seine sinker.

The floats were usually of cedar, oblong in shape, and about eight or ten inches across. The sinkers were round flat stones secured with a hoop of willow (Figure 13). The hoop or ring was shaped and then cord tied across it at right angles. Upon this cradle was placed the stone and over it other cords were passed and fastened to the ring. An efficient sinker which could easily be fastened to the net was formed thus without working the stone.

Seines were used only at night. A place where the river was uniform in depth and the bottom smooth was always selected so that the seine would not catch on rocks on the river bed and overturn the canoe. Two men were necessary to manage a seine. They paddled to the point where the fishing was to be done, dropped the seine, then spread it by pulling the rope attached to one end. The seine was hauled ashore before it was emptied. A successful night's seining netted from forty to a hundred salmon.

Seines were the property of the individuals who made them, and the catch was necessarily divided only between those participating in the venture. However, since seines were scarce, they were often loaned. In such a case the borrower usually presented the owner with a part of the catch.

The seine was a relatively recent introduction into Sanpoil territory according to native testimony. It is said to have come from the "lower country." John Tom stated that it was known in his grandfather's time, but not before.

THE SALMON CHIEF

A supervisor, known as the Salmon Chief (xa·'tu's), was in charge of all activities in connection with the communal traps. This chief enjoyed independent and absolute power in all matters relating to the trap fishing. He kept the chief of the group informed concerning his activities but did not answer to him. The Salmon Chief, who was often a shaman as well, usually had Salmon as one of his guardian spirits. The office was nominally hereditary; but since it was practically necessary to have salmon power to fill the position successfully it may often have been rejected by a normal successor who did not possess such power. In such a case the assembly selected another. It must be noted, however, that a son was often able to take over the powers of his deceased father if he elected to do so.[9]

[9] See page 174-175.

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The Salmon Chief set the time for the construction of the weir-trap and designated those who were to do the work. He selected the exact site and oversaw the selection of materials to be used. He did not merely act as director of the work, but assisted in raising the structure as well. 226 624 796

The Salmon Chief supervised the observation of the First Salmon Ceremony;[10] it was his duty to see that no salmon were taken from the trap before the rite had been performed. Subsequent to the ceremony his principal duties were to see that all went well at the trap and that the fish were properly distributed. He appointed those who were to empty the trap each morning and evening. [476] These men removed the fish from the trap, strung them by the gills, four or five [462] at a time, on a willow pole, and carried them on their shoulders to the distributing grounds where the women kept the ground covered with fresh sunflower leaves.

At the communal traps all fish that were taken were distributed equally among all those present at the camp, irrespective of whether one was a stranger, a temporary visitor, or a permanent resident. Presentation of the fish was to women who did the cooking and drying. The size of the family was considered in the apportionment. When the catch was small it was sometimes necessary to cut up the fish in order to make an equal distribution. The individual who distributed the fish was appointed by the Salmon Chief, who was always present to see that the apportionment was entirely fair. The Salmon Chief was usually somewhat favored, receiving an extra fish or two, but these were always presented to him—he did not take any of his own accord. If a few fish remained after an even distribution had been made they were boiled by some of the women and anyone who so desired might partake of them. To the remaining liquid various women usually added berries or camas. This mixture was boiled and again anyone was privileged to help himself. 226 476 624

If the number of fish being taken was very small the Salmon Chief notified his people through a spokesmen to remain away from the stream and trap until further notice. He then wrapped himself in a robe and went to the trap, where he stayed until the following morning. During the night he prayed to his spirit to increase the number of fish so that his people would not starve. Upon his return in the morning he sent word around that they might again visit the trap. "If you go down you may find two or three salmon in the trap," was the usual nature of his message. Ordinarily such procedure resulted in restoration of the normal run of fish.

In connection with trap fishing the observance of a number of tabus by the women was necessary for success. No woman was allowed to take water from the stream in which the trap was located, nor might she visit the trap, walk on, or cross over the trails leading to it. She was further prohibited from approaching nearer than several paces to the salmon distributing center.[11] The tabu applied to all women, but the direct object was to avoid any possibility of a menstruating woman contaminating the salmon and thereby causing the run to cease. If any 226 624 784 841

[10] See pages 71-73.

[11] The man who distributed the salmon carried to each woman her share; she did not come after it.

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226 of these tabus were broken it was the Salmon Chief's duty to undo the mischief.
624 He usually reprimanded the women, then notified the people to remain away from
784 the trap while he went there and prayed that the salmon might overlook the
841 insult and return. Usually he was successful.

If the Samon Chief were at the same time a shaman, another shaman sometimes tried his power against him by causing a cessation of the salmon run. If the power of the Salmon Chief were the greater, he realized what had caused the disappearance of the fish and called upon his guardian spirit to restore the run, thereby demonstrating his superiority. Retaliation usually followed; the Salmon Chief directed his guardian spirit to inflict punishment, usually illness, upon the aggressive shaman. In case the shaman that had taken the offensive had the greater power, the Salmon Chief was not able to bring about a return of the fish, and remained ignorant of the cause of the situation.

226 John Tom's father, a man with a wide reputation as a successful fisherman,
624 was Salmon Chief. His guardian spirit was Salmon; he was not a shaman. After
787 the death of his father John Tom succeeded him as Salmon Chief, after receiving his father's salmon power in a dream.[12]

At one time during the height of the season the river became so low that no fish could be speared.

> I (Tom) went down to the river. There was nothing but water—only water, no fish anywhere. I was overcome. I wept. I wiped away my tears, and called to my power. I sang my Salmon song. Soon the water rose, the salmon came. Many, many salmon appeared. I speared a great many. Then the sun became so bright that I could no longer see. I went back to my people. After that many salmon were speared.[13]

At another time a trap had been built at a neighboring settlement. The people had waited for three days, but no salmon had been taken. They sent for John Tom.

> I agreed to go and try to help them. I went down to the trap at evening. I stood around for a while. I felt despondent and overcome. I prayed. Suddenly I saw a lone salmon jump out onto the rocks. I killed it and took it to the other side of the stream and tied it to the trap. Then I stayed there all night. During the night I heard a thumping, thumping within the trap. At dawn the next morning I went back to the camp. I told the people to go down to the trap; that I had got one salmon anyway. Then I went to sleep. The people went down. There were three hundred salmon in the trap.

THE FIRST SALMON CEREMONY

226 A ceremony celebrating the arrival and capture of the first salmon of the
796 year, and involving ritualistic treatment of the fish, formed a part of the general ceremonial complex requiring special observances in connection with the first food products of the spring.[14] The Sanpoil were one of the most northeasterly of the Plateau peoples who shared in this ceremony, which was widely distributed along the Pacific coast.[15] The Sanpoil called this rite snxa'wi'lam.

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[12]See page 175.

[13]This anecdote indicates that the Salmon Chief functioned in connection with spearing, as well as trapping. Also, prayers were offered in the daytime; not only at night.

[14]The first fruits and first roots ceremonies are described on pages 97.

[15]Most probably the Colville, and possibly the Lakes, also had the ceremony. For the distribution of the rite, and an examination of its various aspects, see two papers by Gunther, *An Analysis of the First Salmon Ceremony*, and *A Further Analysis of the First Salmon Ceremony*.

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226 539 773 796 Intimately connected with the rite is usually a myth explaining the origin of the salmon, or the observances, or both.[18] Excerpts from the Sanpoil myth may profitably be recorded here for the light that they throw upon the ceremony as actually practiced.

On the Sanpoil river, a little way above the Columbia, an old man and an old woman lived. The old woman was so stooped that she could almost walk around on her knees and elbows without bending over. The old man was crippled, too, but he could hobble around a little better than his wife. The old people had a grandchild that lived with them. She was a very good looking girl.

One day Coyote came along and saw the old couple and the girl. He decided then and there that he wanted the girl for his wife, but he was afraid to ask the old people for her, for fear they would say no. It was early in the morning, so he decided to wait around until evening and then ask them. He sat around and lay around all day long. The old man and woman watched him. They saw that his hair was long and braided all the way down and that his forelocks were carefully combed back and that the few strands of hair in front of his ears were covered with beads. They noticed too that he was tall and strong. The old people talked about him to each other and decided that he must be a chief of some kind.

All day Coyote stayed there and said nothing. Late in the afternoon he decided to speak to the old man.

"Old man," he said, "what is that thing down in the stream a way?"

"Why, that's a fish trap," the old man answered.

"A fish trap? What is that? What do you do with it?" Coyote asked as if he didn't know.

"Oh, I catch a few bull-heads and sun-fish once in a while," the old man answered.

Coyote still pretended ignorance. "Is that what you eat, then? I don't know that I ever heard of them; are they big enough to eat?"

"Oh, they're not much, but what else can we do? That's all we can get to eat," the old man said.

(Coyote then supplied the old people with grouse for dinner and real tobacco to smoke, very much to their amusement. He asked for their granddaughter and they agreed to the marriage.)

Coyote stayed with his wife that evening, making love to her. But late in the evening he said to her, "I'm going out for a few minutes; when I come back we'll go to bed."

"All right," she answered, and Coyote went out.

He went down the stream to where the old man had his trap. In a little while he made it over in the form of a weir-trap, piling up rows of rocks to guide the fish into it. When he had finished he called out, "Salmon, I want two of you to be in this trap in the morning, one male and one female." Then he went back.

The next morning Coyote asked the old man what time he went down to the trap.

"I usually go down about the middle of the morning; sometimes I find one or two little fish then," he answered.

A little later, just after sun-up, Coyote told the old man that he thought that he should go down and look at the trap to see if any fish were in it.

"There won't be any this early," the old man answered.

"Well, I think that you had better go and see, anyway; I heard something during the night and I think it was some fish in the trap," Coyote said.

So the old man went down to the trap. It was a little way off shore, but from the bank he could see something big moving around in the trap. He took off his moccasins and waded in. Sure enough, there were two big salmon in the trap. When the old man saw them he became so excited that he hardly knew what to do. He floundered out of the water and stumbled up the trail towards where he had left Coyote. He hobbled along, his body all bent over, and stumbled from one side of the path to the other in his excitement.

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[18] Gunther, *A Further Analysis*, page 161.

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When he reached Coyote he cried, "Say, there are two great big fish in the trap—bigger than I have ever seen."

"What?" exclaimed Coyote, "You must have something in your eyes; you must be dreaming."

"No," the old man insisted, "my eyes are clear." He rubbed them and said. "You had better come down and see."

Coyote went down with him. When they reached the trap Coyote looked in and said, "Sure enough, you are right. These are salmon, the chief of the fish. We'll take them out, but we won't take them to the house; we'll take them over to that flat place there and I'll show you what to do to them."

When they reached the open field he sent the old man up the hill to gather sunflower stems and leaves. "Those are the salmon plants," he said; "salmon must always be laid only on sunflower stems and leaves."

The old man brought back the sunflowers and spread them out on the ground; then they put the salmon down on them.

Then Coyote showed him how to prepare the fish. First he showed him how to put a stick in the mouth and then bend it back and break off the head. Next he showed him how to make long sharp poles to stick in the salmon for holding it over the fire and roasting.

Coyote said, "Now, remember this: for the first week[17] go down to the trap and take out the salmon, but when you are fixing one to cook, never use a knife to cut it in any way. Always cook the fish over the fire on sticks, the way I have showed you; never boil it. Then, after it is roasted, open it carefully and take out the backbone without breaking it. Also save the back part of the head; never eat that.[18] If you do not do these things as I have said, either a big storm will come up and it will rain until you are drowned, or you will be bitten by a rattlesnake; one of these things will be sure to happen to you. After you have taken the backbone and the back of the head, wrap them up carefully in tules and put them somewhere in a tree or some place where they can't be bothered.

"If you do as I say you will always have salmon in your trap. I'm telling you these things because I am going to die some time and I want you to know what to do. After this, men will always place traps up and down the river to catch salmon; the man who has the first trap in the river will be chief and you should always do anything that he tells you to do.

"After the first week you can boil your salmon or cook it any way you wish, but always take care of the bones; never leave them where they can be stepped on or stepped over."

For the next few days each time the old man went down to the trap in the morning he found twice as many salmon as on the day before. Coyote showed him how to dry them and prepare them for use in the winter. Before long a large scaffold was covered with the drying salmon.

The people round about saw the fish and noticed how well the old man and woman were doing. They went home and told the other people about the big red fish and the tall young stranger who was staying with the old people. Soon a large bunch of them went to see for themselves. The old man and woman invited them in and gave them a feast. Then they told them how they got the fish.[19]

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The actual observation of the ceremony diverged very little from the program set down by Coyote in the myth. The Salmon Chief superintended all of the preparations for the rite as well as the performance itself. The building of the fish trap was not properly a part of the ceremony, but necessarily immediately preceded it in time.

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[17] The "week" is probably here a modern substitution for "five days" which one would expect in conformity with the pattern number.

[18] In another Sanpoil myth it is explained that Salmon had once received a poisonous shot in the back of the head from Rattlesnake.

[19] Told by Bob Covington.

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While the men were erecting the trap, the women were busy gathering sunflower (*Helianthus annus* L.) leaves and raising a sun shade. The shade was made in the same form as the summer mat house[29] but without side walls, and much less care was taken in the construction. The ground underneath the shelter and for some distance around was completely covered with sunflower leaves. A fireplace was established nearby and wood gathered. The completion of these tasks ended the women's participation in the ceremony. For the following five days they remained in complete isolation from the men, and under no circumstances did they go near the fish trap or the salmon shelter.

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The Salmon Chief kept a careful vigil at the trap throughout the night following its completion. During the night he repeatedly called upon his guardian spirit (usually Salmon) to bring a heavy run and fill the trap. For the entire duration of the ceremony the Salmon Chief continued to watch over the trap each night. If the catch of the first night had been reasonably large, his only duty during the remainder of the time was to see that nothing occurred which might jeopardize the supply, such as trespass by a woman. If the quantity of fish taken from the trap had been unsatisfactory the Salmon Chief continued to beseech his guardian spirit.

Each morning the salmon were removed from the trap, carried to the shelter and laid upon the sunflower leaves. The Salmon Chief designated those men who were to empty the trap and bring back the salmon. Others were appointed by him to clean and cook the fish. The intestines were discarded, but all other parts of the fish preserved. During the first four days only the flanks of the salmon were eaten. The heads, tails, fins, backbones and roe were set aside on a platform made of woven willow withes and supported by poles sunk in the ground. Here they were left to dry until the fifth day, when they would be used. The flanks were prepared by boiling during the first half, or two days, of the four day period.[31] On the third and fourth days all of the salmon eaten were cooked by roasting. On the fifth day the heads, roe and other parts that had been put aside, were taken from the platform where they had been deposited, and mixed with service berries, bitterroot, camas and water, and cooked in the form of a soup (qa·'lu'ps). The repasts of the previous four days had all been on the order of feasts, but this final meal (sqa·'lu'psəm) with which the ceremony culminated, eclipsed them all. Huge quantities of the soup were prepared and each man present took pride in consuming as much of the concoction as possible. Young boys, as well as women, were excluded from participation in this feast as in those of the days preceding.

A special "spoon" was substituted for the ordinary spoon during the feasts of the ceremony when boiled salmon was served. It was a very simple device which took but a moment to make. A small twig of green willow was bent into a triangular shape as shown in Figure 14.

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[29] See pages 34-35.

[31] The greatest discrepancy between the salmon origin myth and the rite as practiced appears here, i.e., in the initial boiling of the fish, whereas roasting was prescribed by Coyote in the myth.

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Aside from the feasting, gambling occupied the greater part of the time during the ceremony. People from many villages congregated at the great fishing centers, especially npui'lux*, a situation which was always conducive to merry-making and large scale gambling.

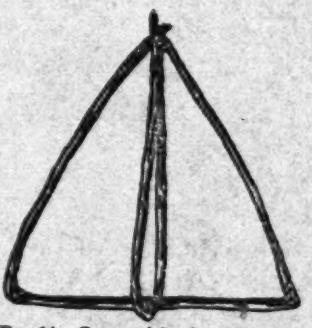

FIG. 14. Ceremonial salmon "spoon".

Following the morning of the fifth day and the conclusion of the feast, the women and children rejoined the men and the summer's work began in earnest. The fish which had not been eaten were prepared for drying. The women thereafter cooked the meals and cleaned and dried the fish. The salmon could henceforth be cooked in any manner, and the head, an especial delicacy, was no longer tabu.

SALMON DRYING AND STORAGE

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The first operation in the preparation of salmon for drying was the removal of the intestines; the fish were then placed on the drying racks. After about an hour the women, who did all of the cleaning and drying of the fish, took them down from the racks and prepared them for final drying. This involved cutting off the heads and opening up the flesh. The heads were simply split open and hung on the racks. One flank was partially severed from the body by cutting along one side of the backbone, between the bones and the flesh. The fish was then turned over and a second cut was made from the ventral side extending almost to the backbone. Each flank, thus separated, was slashed transversely about every half inch. Long slender splints of cedar were used to hold the sides of the salmon apart. All of this was done to facilitate drying. The salmon was then hung from the drying racks by piercing the tail and inserting a forked stick. Ten days to two weeks were usually required for proper drying. Salmon heads and roe took twice as long. If the capacity of the drying racks were too small for the amount of salmon that were being taken, the fish would be only partly dried on the racks, then removed and laid on shaded mats to continue drying.

The drying racks were usually built on the same plan as the summer mat houses, and adjoining them. They were covered with brush and leaves to keep the direct rays of the sun away from the fish. It was especially important that the chinook* salmon be kept well shaded, for it spoiled more easily than the other varieties.

In the fall it was necessary to dry the salmon inside the house, since the heat of the sun was insufficient at that season to accomplish adequate drying. Poles were fastened from one side of the lodge to the other, near the ceiling, and the salmon were suspended from these. Drying within the house resulted in incidental smoking, but the fish were never purposely smoked. The fire during this time

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251 was never made of pine wood, but rather of cottonwood, willow, birch or cedar. If pine had been used soot would have accumulated on the salmon and the flavor would have been undesirably affected.

Not only salmon was dried, but fish of any species and eels were sometimes so preserved. However, no other fish but salmon was ever dried in any considerable quantity.

Each family dried its own fish.

251 348 Salmon was stored as soon as it was taken from the drying racks. The heads and flanks were placed in separate storage bags, usually made of tule,[22] which were of a standard size, about twenty by thirty-six inches. Sometimes the bags were lined, and layers of fish separated, with dragon sagewort (*Artemisia Dracunculus* L.), to keep maggots away. When filled the bags were closed by sewing. The average weight of a well filled bag was approximately a hundred pounds. Salmon roe was wrapped in salmon skins which were then sewed up, and stored on elevated platforms. The roe decayed somewhat with time but in such a state it was considered more desirable food. Salmon oil was not stored in skins.

Both storage houses and elevated storage platforms (stxala'ks) were used. The former were ordinarily situated on islands in the Columbia; the latter were erected at the sites of the winter camps. The houses consisted of four walls made of logs laid horizontally one upon the other and secured in place by vertical posts sunk in the ground. The inside of the enclosure was lined with tule mats. The bags were deposited within the enclosure, then covered over with planks or poles on top of which stones were piled.

Elevated platforms for storage were supported by four posts sunk in the ground, one at each corner. The planks or poles forming the platform itself rested upon transverse poles extending between the supporting posts. The platforms were high enough to walk under. Around each of the four posts, at a height of four or five feet, were tied several prickly pears (*Opuntia polyacatha* Haw.) to keep mice and other small climbing animals from reaching the food. When bags of food were stored on elevated platforms they were covered with large tule mats. The snow which always accumulated added a further protective covering. Not only dried salmon, but other preserved foods such as meat, berries and roots, were stored on the platforms and in the storage houses.

[22] Or, later, parfleches. For a description of the storage bags and parfleches, see pages 37, 93-94.

HUNTING

221 Practically the only economic pursuit in which the Sanpoil engaged during
224 the winter months was hunting (spu'xam). The deer, by far the most important game animal, was hunted from November to March. It furnished fresh meat to supplement the winter diet of dried foods, and supplied materials for clothing, especially moccasins. Also, as spring approached, the stored foodstuffs were often depleted. In such emergencies the deer was ardently sought since a successful hunt made available large quantities of fresh meat. Smaller animals were taken during these months as well, but they were of negligible economic importance as compared with the deer. Elk were also hunted during this time, but they existed in much smaller numbers and were proportionately harder to find.

221 A certain amount of hunting was done in the spring and fall. Prior to the
224 fishing season, while the women were gathering roots on the south side of the Columbia, the men often hunted rabbits, ground hogs, fowl and other small game.
462 During the period intervening between the summer and fall fishing seasons, at which time the women were engaged in berry picking, the men usually hunted antelope in the Grand Coulee country or small game north of the Columbia. Almost no hunting was done during the summer; this time was completely occupied with fishing activities.

Deer were seldom hunted in the spring or fall because of the difficulty of taking the animals simply by stalking with the bow. In the winter, when the ground was nearly always covered with snow, the deer were placed at a disadvantage. Even at that time, however, deer hunting was usually conducted in parties.

133 Hunting expeditions, prior to the coming of the whites, did not necessarily
224 involve making trips far from the village. A range of mountains extends from the "big bend" of the Columbia up into British Columbia, between the Columbia river on the east and the Sanpoil river on the west. Many of the peaks attain an elevation of 6000 feet. Formerly these mountains were plentifully supplied with game. Buffalo Ridge, above Lake Annum, and the Coyote Creek hills in the northern part of Sanpoil territory, were favorite areas for deer hunting. On the east side of the Columbia river, in smaka'lt and Colville territories, are the Huckleberry mountains. The Nespelem and Sanpoil often hunted there, since they were friendly with the peoples of that region.

224 Hunting definitely took a second place as compared to fishing as an econom-
226 ically important activity. Game was perhaps roughly equivalent, quantitatively,
262 to roots and berries in the diet of the group. On the other hand, considered on the basis of necessity for a balanced diet, the vegetable foods were indispensible, whereas such was not the case with game.

DEER, ELK AND ANTELOPE HUNTING

224 As stated above, deer hunting was usually a group venture. Anyone might
624 organize a hunting party but in each community certain men were reputed to be good hunting leaders and usually only these instigated trips. Others would have

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found it difficult to get followers. Such recognised leaders always had guardian spirits which aided them in hunting, such as deer or antelope. The preparations for the trip, the time of starting and the destination were matters over which the leader exercised control.

Arrangements for the trip were usually made ten days or more before actually starting, for a ten day period of sweating was normally required of each hunter before departure. This ten day period was undoubtedly observed in its entirety only when the need for food was not pressing. Complete continence was required during the sweating period as well as throughout the trip. A hunter might sleep in the same lodge with his wife but never in the same bed. This restriction and the strict observance of the sweating were particularly important for the leader of the expedition, no matter how great his power; otherwise the trip was sure to be a failure. (Indicating, of course, that the compliance of the other hunters was *not* so important, and not always compulsory. Moreover, Burke stated that sometimes after a few days of unsuccessful hunting on account of omitting the sweating period a hunter's guardian spirit appeared to him, reprimanded him for his carelessness, but nevertheless brought him success on the following day.)

During the preliminary period the hunter went to his sweat lodge each morning upon arising and again in the evening. While sweating he called upon the lodge to bring him success and to keep him from accident. The songs he sang were the usual sweat house songs.[1] The object of the sweating was practical as well as ceremonial. The hunter realized that the deer would be able to scent him much more easily if he failed to cleanse himself.

A hunter was careful not to boast or predict success on the forthcoming trip for the animals were able to hear what was said about them and they would not appear to anyone who had boasted.

Preparations immediately preceding departure on the trip included inspection and repair of snowshoes, moccasins, and the preparation of the packs. Very little food was taken on hunting trips. The members of the party relied upon game which they expected to catch to furnish sustenance. When food was taken dried salmon was usually selected because it was light in weight and highly nourishing. The bulk of a hunting pack consisted of robes for bedding and mats for the hut which was to furnish shelter.

Women regularly accompanied the hunters on trips lasting longer than a single day. They assisted in packing the burdens, made camp, cooked the food and kept the fires burning, and helped to a certain extent with the hunting, as noted below. Usually a hunting party consisted of about half as many women as men. Those women who accompanied the hunters did so of their own choice. Besides the hunters' wives, old women often went along, carrying food which they would exchange for venison. The men did not occupy separate huts from the women at the camping place, but associated with them no more than was necessary.

Hunting parties usually departed at daylight, everything having been made ready the night before. Often the destination could then be reached by evening,

[1] See page 179.

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but sometimes a second or third day was required for the journey. Upon arrival at the site selected by the leader, camp was made. Small mat huts were erected, of the circular or tipi type.[1] There was no restriction as to the direction toward which the lodge doors faced, as among the Thompson. The location usually chosen for the camp was the mouth of the draw or canyon up which the hunters planned to proceed the next day.

All of the significant details of the hunt were handled by the leader. He usually arranged for the start to be made at daybreak. He designated the manner in which the hunters were to distribute themselves, selected the man for each post, and gave him his directions. He arranged where they were to meet, and at what time. The usual procedure was to send two or three hunters up the hill on either side of the valley. These would proceed to the head of the valley and spread out in a rough semi-circle so that they could guard the whole upper end of the valley. When this group was near its destination the remainder of the party (at least three or four) spread out, fan-like, in the bottom of the valley and advanced toward them. It was the duty of these to discover the deer and drive them to the head of the draw where the other hunters were waiting with their bows and arrows, ready to kill the game. The deer were aroused by shouts and kept in the right path by running after them. When a hunter had discovered one or more deer his shouts called the others to his aid. All efforts were then bent upon driving the deer to the proper position at the head of the ravine. The best runners were selected for this work; those most skillful with the bow and arrow were the ones stationed above. If no deer had been sighted during the ascent of the valley the hunters all met at the place previously designated and made further plans.

Since the success of an expedition was felt to be largely in the hands of the leader it was a matter of much concern to him when game could not be found. He was often helped by his guardian spirit, who knew when he was worrying. The spirit characteristically appeared in a dream and told him how he could turn the luck of the party. The directions were usually to give up looking for deer and seek instead some small animal, as designated, which could easily be found. When the substitute animal had been killed the deer would appear. Such orders were implicitly followed. The leader usually named a certain one of his party to look for the animal and all others remained in camp until it was brought in.

A variant of the usual hunting procedure, called sni'kum admirably illustrates the degree to which practical activity may become overlaid and involved with ceremonial accoutrements among primitive peoples. Only certain well known hunting leaders, with powerful guardian spirits, could organize sni'kum expeditions. The parties were always large, ranging between fifteen and thirty. Preparations for the trip and the journey to the hunting grounds were made as in the preceding instance. However, the hunt did not start on the day following encampment. The leader first prepared hundreds of little stakes, six to ten inches in length, without the help of any of his followers. When this was done he collected the same number of small objects (sni'i'kum) such as pieces of fur, leather, skin, cloth, horsehair or feathers. When these were ready the party started out.

[1] See page 34.

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The leader carried the sni'i'kum; the other hunters carried the stakes. They then started up the hill on one side of the valley where they intended to hunt, continued around the head of the valley and came down the hill on the opposite side. About every twenty feet along this route, except where a cliff was encountered, the leader took one of the stakes, tied a sni'i'kum to it, and thrust it in the snow or the ground, thus completely enclosing the valley except at the mouth. No one but the leader could do this; the others only followed, carrying the stakes. At the placing of each stake the leader called upon his guardian spirit (usually deer) reminding it of the promises it had made to him, and beseeching it not to let any deer pass the row of stakes.

Completion of this task occupied perhaps two days. The evening that the work was finished the leader called his followers together and announced that the hunt would start in the morning. He assured them that he had done all that was possible to make the hunt a success.

The hunters proceeded as usual to drive the deer they discovered to the head of the canyon. If the deer got past the hunters and started backwards, the women rushed out and prevented them from passing the mouth of the valley. If the deer, on the other hand, tried to escape over one of the hills they were confronted by the row of stakes and while yet many feet away, it is said, turned about and ran in the opposite direction. When the upper and narrow end of the "enclosure" was reached, it was a simple matter for the bowmen stationed there to shoot the deer, for they would not run beyond the stakes.

The efficacy of the "enclosure," however, depended entirely upon the power of the leader. If his power were not great enough the deer paid no heed to the stakes, and were lost. At one time a leader substituted a line of small fires for the stakes, but the innovation was a failure. The deer ran between them or jumped over them and fled to the woods beyond.

Deer taken by this method of hunting were handled in much the same manner as those killed by the more common procedure. When the sni'kum resulted in a large kill, which was usually the case, the deer were carried or dragged only part way down the canyon; then the camp was moved up to that point.

I was unable to learn how long this unique manner of hunting had been in existence. Its inception antedated the memory of my oldest informants, but it probably was not many generations old; the nature of the custom credits no assumption of great age. Moreover, the Sanpoil were presumably the only people acquainted with the custom. Although I do not have direct information from their neighbors,[2] my Sanpoil informants claimed that none of the surrounding peoples used any similar method in their hunting.

In this case I feel that we undoubtedly have an example of a clean cut innovation, completely formulated by its originator, and carried along by the momentum given it as a result of his eminence as a hunter and his power as a leader. There was nothing fundamentally new about the procedure; the details—the

[2]Other than the Lakes, who were ignorant of the practice.

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preparation of the sticks, the words of the leader to his guardian spirit at the time of setting them—were of a nature which appealed to the average hunter as particularly efficacious, because they were elaborations of the methods which he had learned to use in seeking supernatural intervention and assistance in his economic exploits.[4]

There was probably some actual efficacy to the "enclosure." Each stick was handled several times by various persons and the object placed upon it was something which had been in intimate association with man, and both doubtless retained a distinctive odor due to such handling. In addition, several men tramped from stake to stake, during the setting, and could hardly have avoided leaving a well marked path in the snow. Altogether, the sensitive nostrils of the deer may well have been able to perceive the presence of man when approaching the line.

Deer hunting on the Columbia river usually involved driving the animals into the river, where they could easily be killed. A small group of men would plan the hunt, which occupied only one day. A certain number went into the hills to drive the deer down, and others paddled up and down the river skirting the hills. The deer were driven into the river with the aid of dogs, or sometimes merely by running after them. This could be done if there were a hard crust on the snow. After having once taken to the water, a deer was unable to climb up either bank, for during the winter the ice extends for several feet out into the river. Thus the deer was at the mercy of the canoemen, who usually stunned or killed it with a club and then hauled it into the canoe. An alternative method of killing the deer was to hold its head under water until it drowned.

When the snow was deep and the crust was strong enough to support a man, but not a deer, the animals were often driven over the edge of a cliff. In order to accomplish this it was necessary to keep close behind the prey and drive them to the cliff's edge, then surround them and force them to leap over. Dogs were usually used to assist. This method was particularly popular at Whitestone (xulá'lst) and regular organized expeditions with a leader were uncommon.

In the deep, crusted snow it was sometimes possible for the hunter to stalk a deer until it was exhausted, then kill it with his knife, a hafted blade. Groups sometimes stalked and killed deer in this manner, but it was more common with the individual hunter. Some hunters were able to kill a doe by jumping on its back, grasping it by the mouth, then bending back its head until its neck was broken. This was seldom possible with a buck, because of its horns and greater strength. Clubs were not used to kill deer except in the water.

Individual hunters used a variety of methods for obtaining their game. The hunter often sent two or three dogs into the hills to drive the deer into the valley, where he waited with his bow and arrows. When dogs were used a young boy usually accompanied the hunter to look after them.

Deer were "called" with the aid of a certain leaf, which I was not able to obtain for identification. The leaf was placed between the thumbs and held to the mouth while inhaling, producing a sound which resembled the call of a fawn.

[4] Cf., the bear ceremony, pages 84-85.

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224 In the absence of the leaf, some hunters could imitate the call fairly well with the throat alone.

Deer were awaited by bowmen at watering places, or along the paths leading to them, and at "salt licks." The hunter always made certain that he was concealed. At watering holes it was usually possible to hide behind trees or in the brush, but at the "salt licks" a lean-to shelter was usually built, or a hole dug in the bank for concealment.

True deer fences were not used, nor were pitfall traps. Sometimes deer were taken with a snare made of Indian hemp or willow bark rope.[8] Disguises of bear or deer skins were used by some hunters.

Elk were hunted in the same manner as deer. They were much more scarce and it is doubtful that expeditions for the specific purpose of hunting elk were often organized. Deer hunters took full advantage of any opportunity to secure elk; the quest for deer was forsaken when these larger animals were sighted.

Antelope were hunted only during the summer and fall. They roamed in considerable numbers about the prairies south of the Columbia river, especially in the vicinity of the Grand Coulee.[9] Still hunting was the usual method employed for antelope. The hunter almost invariably searched for his game alone; never more than two men hunted together.

Antelope, less timid than deer, were hunted more successfully than the latter by the individual with the aid of only a bow and arrows. Water was scarce in the Coulee country, and it was near "pot holes" filled with water that antelope were most often found. The hunter, upon sighting one or more, carefully approached by the most protected route available. When within range he shot his arrows in quick succession, and occasionally succeeded in bringing down two of the animals. Unlike the case with deer, a hunter's chances were not completely lost even though he failed in his first attempt. Antelope characteristically fled for only a short distance. This made it possible for the hunter often to reach the herd a second time. It was not unusual for a clever huntsman to kill two or three antelope in a single day.

BEAR HUNTING

Two varieties of bear were found in Sanpoil territory. They were the black (cinnamon or brown) bear, and the grizzly bear. Bears were sought both for their flesh and hides. Although bear meat was considered "strong" in flavor, it was readily eaten. The skins were tanned without removing the fur, and used as robes and bedding.

The black bear was hunted by individual hunters, principally along the streams and rivers where berries abounded, and at the season that the berries were ripe. The animals could be taken unawares while feeding upon the berries and killed with the bow and arrow. Bears were most certain to be found during the berry season on the banks of the Columbia river, where berries were invariably

[8] See page 86.

[9] These animals did not frequent the bed of the Coulee, but rather the plateaus above.

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
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plentiful. Occasionally late frosts killed all of the berries in the mountains, in which case many bears congregated along the upper course of the Columbia. 224

Another method of taking bears was to smoke them out of their places of hibernation. The locations of dens customarily used by these animals during the winter were well known to hunters. Other places of hibernation were identified by the characteristic pile of pine needles used to cover the openings of the dens. The hunter built a fire of rotten pine wood at the opening of the hole, then waited with his bow and arrow ready for the bear to come out.

Grizzly bears were seldom hunted by the average man. In fact the grizzly bear was so greatly feared that it was much more common for a hunter to run than to attack one of the animals. On the other hand, those hunters who had for their guardian spirits the grizzly bear, field mouse, mountain squirrel or gopher, (these latter were "friends" of the grizzly), were able to successfully seek this formidable creature. Although not immune from injury, hunters with such spirits were certain to recover, no matter how seriously hurt. 224 825

The following tale, told by Bob Covington, illustrates the beliefs surrounding the grizzly bear: 224 825 539

An old man spent nearly all his time hunting grizzly bears. In those days there were lots of grizzlies in the mountains. He had become a big grizzly bear hunter.

One day he said to his wife, "Now, wife, some day I may get killed when I am out hunting. But whatever happens don't go to look for me. No matter how badly I am hurt, I have a good chance to get well. So you just stay away, at least until two days have passed."

Later on they were camping on the Sanpoil river near Keller. It was late in the afternoon, but the old man told his wife that he was going up in the hills for a while. He said he would be back before long.

Night came but he did not return. His wife wondered what had happened but she didn't go out. During the night she heard many noises in the hills. All kinds of animals seemed to be there. She heard coyotes and wolves and crows and all the rest of the birds and animals. Then she was sure she knew what had happened.

When morning came she started out. She could still hear the cries of the animals and she followed them. They became louder and soon she was nearly there. She crossed a little hill and then looked down into a small meadow below. All the noises had disappeared but she saw her husband sitting there in the center of the clearing. She rushed up to him but he didn't turn around. She went around in front of him but he turned so that his back was again toward her. Then he said, "Why didn't you stay at home as I told you? I'm hurt, but I'm all right just the same. Now you go on away."

His wife went away but she didn't go home. She stayed just on the other side of the hill. As soon as she was out of sight of her husband she heard the cries of the animals again. She stood it as long as she could then rushed back. When she reached the open place again the noises were gone once more and her husband was still sitting in the same place.

He was angry this time, and didn't turn his face away from her. "It's funny you couldn't stay away a little bit longer," he said. She saw that he had two deep gashes cut in his face as if he had been clawed by a grizzly bear. He went home with her this time.

After reaching home his wife saw that he had scars all over his body which looked like the claw marks of a grizzly. But they were all healed. Only the cuts on his face were still open.

His wife asked what the meaning of it all was. He said, "I told you once. I was in a fight with a grizzly bear." Then she told him that she wanted to know about all the animals she had heard.

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
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Then he said, "Well, I'll tell you. If you had done as I said, and hadn't come, these gashes on my face would have been healed up too. When I was hurt all the animals came and rubbed my body and arms and legs and healed the scratches. Then they were going to fix my face too, but you came and they all ran away." 224 539 825

CEREMONIAL TREATMENT OF BEARS

In the Plateau area bear ceremonialism seems to center about what has been called a "mourning song"[7] which is sung after the animal has been killed. The Nespelem and Sanpoil shared this practice. The tune and the meaningless syllables of the song were fixed, but the words, which were inserted periodically, were not strictly formulated.[8] Following are two examples of the song in text and free translation: 224 796 825

xawa···' xawa'xawàyi··· xawa··· 'xawayi··· xawa'xawayi···
(meaningless) 224

sqɑpəntcu'əmstᵘ ɛsnuqɬtsɑxe'ɬ ni'xulqwa·
You cause the other animals to do as you have done. 539 825

à·nui' ki'qwɩɬtuqumətsut' itsɑpɑntcu'təmstxᵘ
Even you, you have laid down for me;

i·puwa·'luxtən msətstuqumətsu'ts.[9]
Now, you cause the bucks to lie down.

xawa··· (etc.) ki'qwɩɬtuqumətsut,
You have given up to me;

sqɑpəntcu'təmstxᵘ i·'s winu·'mtxᵘ i·'t kɩɬɑmi'luxᵘ msətstuquməntsu'ts.[10]
Now, you cause the good-looking women to give up to me.

Such songs were chanted after a black bear had been killed and before the animal had been touched by the hunter. The custom evidently was not applied to the grizzly bear, for my informant stated specifically that it was "the song of the cinnamon bear." 224 825

Although the words spoken to the bear appear in the setting of a song, the actual speech is more or less detached and conforms in general to the widespread pattern in the northern hemisphere.[11] However, the conciliatory aspect is entirely lacking, at least in the short passages here recorded. The bear was not called out of its den, as was the custom of the Thompson,[12] nor was it spoken to in any way before being killed. There was no prohibition upon the use of the proper name of the bear known to my informants.

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[7] Teit, *The Lillooet*, page 279.
[8] Typical of all songs.
[9] John Tom's song.
[10] Bear's song.
[11] Hallowell, *Bear Ceremonialism*.
[12] Teit, *The Thompson*, page 347.

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825

It was customary to deposit the bones of all animals used as food in the branches of trees or other elevated places to keep them away from dogs and predatory animals.[13] The bones of the bear received this treatment as a matter of course, but I have no specific information concerning the elevation of bear skulls on poles or in trees such as Teit has recorded for the Thompson, Lillooet, Shuswap, and Chilcotin.[14]

HUNTING: MISCELLANEOUS ANIMALS AND BIRDS

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Buffalo hunting played only a small part in the lives of the Sanpoil. Before the coming of the horse expeditions to the Rocky mountains buffalo were very rare. Subsequent to that time trips were frequently made, almost always in the company of Spokane Indians, who were more familiar with the country to the east. It was the Spokane who introduced the buffalo robe to the Sanpoil. The Spokane and the Sanpoil were always friendly, and both tribes were on pacific terms with the Flathead, Coeur d'Alene and Kalispel, all of whom spoke related dialects. It was to the territory of the Flathead that most of the buffalo hunting expeditions were directed. Only the hides of the animals killed were brought back. The meat served as the principal food while the hunters remained in the buffalo country, but it proved too great a burden to transport home.

224

The smaller animals were taken principally with traps or deadfalls. These included mink, fisher, marten, badger and otter. Larger animals taken in a similar manner were the fox, lynx, wildcat, cougar, coyote and wolf. Two types of deadfall were in common use; one was designed for small animals, the other for the larger ones. The former essentially consisted of a staging built of cedar planks or small poles; one end rested on the ground, the other end was elevated and carefully balanced in that position on a light pole to which the bait was attached. This pole was placed at a precarious angle, so that the slightest molestation of the bait caused it to fall, allowing the staging to descend upon the animal. At either side of the staging were driven stakes, separated by a few inches, to keep the game from escaping in those directions during the fall of the staging, and also to guide it in the fall. On top of the staging were placed large stones to increase the weight. The deadfalls were usually placed directly over a game path.

The second trap of this type, used for larger animals, may be termed the log deadfall. A heavy log was pivoted over a game trail, and supported in a manner similar to the small trap. The log was usually placed across the trail in such a position as to fall on the animal's back.

Combination pit and deadfall traps were employed for all of the animals for which the deadfall alone was used, and on rare occasions, for bear. The size of the pit depended upon the species for which it was designed. For the smaller game a pit eighteen inches deep was adequate. The effective depth of the pit was increased by piling stones around the periphery, except at one point. From this open section extended diverging lines of stakes, designed to direct animals to the

[13] See page 92.
[14] Cited in Hallowell, *Bear Ceremonialism*, page 142.

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224 trap. A heavy weight, usually a stone, was suspended over the pit from one end of a pole, the middle of which rested in the fork of a stick secured in the ground in a vertical position. On the opposite end of the pole was fastened a cord attached to the bait and a trigger. Any movement of the bait released the trigger and allowed the weight to drop.

A bait with a strong and characteristic odor was essential to the success of these traps. Salmon gills and rotting meat were commonly used. Crawfish or shell fish were utilized as a bait specifically for otter. Deer meat was most successful in attracting marten and fisher; mink was usually enticed by scraps of fish.

Coyote, lynx, wildcat and rarely deer were caught by means of a snare. The device consisted of a strong, flexible pole, from which was suspended a carefully made willow bark rope looped to form a noose. The base of the pole was securely anchored and so placed that the noose fell directly over a path frequented by the animals sought. The noose was adjusted to the correct height and bait placed on the path in such a position that the animal could secure it only after putting its head through the loop. Brush was piled in a half circle around the trap, with the open end on the side of the noose opposite the bait. Another snare, used especially for coyote, was a hanging device. A noose was tied on one end of a rope, which was then passed over the limb of a tree or a rock dyke, and made secure to a very large stone balanced in an unstable, elevated position. When the coyote put its head through the noose to obtain the bait the tension on the rope caused the rock to fall, the loop to tighten, and the coyote to be jerked from the ground and strangled.

The ropes used in making snares were always rubbed with a strong smelling grass to conceal the human odors, which the animals would otherwise detect and avoid.

Wolf fur was desirable for use as robes and blankets but the animals were seldom hunted, due to their ferociousness, especially when with young. Sometimes they were taken in deadfall traps, but often they stole the bait and sprung the trap without being killed.

Muskrats were taken in winter by lying in wait with bow and arrows at their holes. Before the ground became covered with snow each winter the locations of muskrat tunnels were marked with stakes placed in the ground. It was then possible later in the season to locate the nests, arouse the rats by means of a long pole, and kill them with arrows as they emerged.

For the woodchuck or ground hog a specially designed arrow was used. It was not provided with a stone point, but the shaft itself was sharpened. A triangular wooden piece, notched to fit against the shaft, and bound to it with deer sinew cord, served the purpose of a barb; sometimes two were used (Figure 15, b). Such a device was necessary, for though the arrow passed completely through the body of the animal, it usually managed to reach its hole and partially re-enter, making it possible for the hunter to retrieve his game only by grasping the butt of the arrow and pulling. If an ordinary arrow had been used it would have pulled out without bringing the animal with it.

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Ground squirrels and other burrowing animals were often drowned out of their holes. If alive when they emerged they were killed with a club.

Rabbits were killed in large numbers, to provide fur for caps, mittens and blankets and for food. They were usually taken by means of the bow and arrows. When a rabbit was found poised, ready to jump, the hunter might walk slowly around and around the animal, gradually approaching closer, and repeating over

FIG. 15. (a) Sinew backed bow. (b) Arrow for ground hogs.

and over, "You are a chief; you are a great chief," etc. Soon the rabbit would lie down and allow the hunter to pick it up.(!)

The turtles of the region (*Clemmys marmorata* and *Chrysemys marginata belli*) were taken for food purposes.

Eagles were caught by lying in wait at their nests. In order to reach their nests, which were built in crevices on the faces of cliffs, it was necessary to descend and return by means of three strand willow bark rope made fast at the top. As the birds returned to the nest they were grasped by the legs and killed. Sometimes only the young birds were taken. It is uncertain whether the young ones were raised in captivity or not. Eagles were sought especially for their feathers which were used on arrows and in ceremonial dress, but also for their flesh which was eaten.

Waterfowl were only rarely killed, due to the difficulty involved. The young were often taken from their nests before learning to fly, not to be kept, but for immediate consumption as food.

Grouse were caught with a simple snare made of Indian hemp cord. The snare was suspended over one of the trails where the birds were accustomed to run.

Various other birds were occasionally killed with the bow and special arrows.[15]

Raccoons were kept as pets.

BOWS AND ARROWS

Since bows and arrows were used almost exclusively in hunting, they will be described at this point. Three types of bow (tcukwi'nk^{u}) were utilized. In order of importance they were the sinew-backed bow, the common or self bow, and the elk rib bow.

Syringa, *Philadelphus Lewisii* Pursh, (wɨɣwa'xailp^{u}), or ocean spray, *Holodiscus discolor* (Pursh) Maxim, (mətsmətsi'lp^{u}), was used in the manufacture of

[15] See page 89.

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the sinew-backed bow. A branch of the proper size was selected and split down the middle. This was done by splitting one end slightly with an edged implement, then bending the branch, little by little, over the knee which caused it to split evenly throughout its length. The bark and the pith having been removed, the pieces were set aside to dry in the sun for about a week. Then followed a careful working of the rough pieces to a uniform elliptical cross section measuring about one and one-half by three-quarters of an inch at the center, tapering toward the ends. A fragment of deer bone with a sharpened edge was used for scraping. The length was cut to approximately three feet. The shaping constituted the next step. The proper form was achieved after a thorough soaking in water, using the fork of tree branches to provide leverage in bending, and strong cord to hold the bow in shape until dry. Drying took two or three weeks. The final shape was uniformly that shown in Figure 15,a. The bow was then ready for the application of the sinew. Glue was prepared by boiling salmon skin or deer hoofs. The sinews, carefully selected fibers from the leg of the deer, were made ready. The backing of sinew was built up in several layers, sometimes as many as five. First the back of the bow was covered with glue, followed by the application of the first layer of sinew extending along the middle of the bow from within about three inches of one end to a corresponding point on the other end. Another coating of glue was added and a second layer of sinew, this one somewhat wider, but the same length. This was continued until the back of the bow had been completely covered, except at the very ends, and had become hemispherical in cross section. When dry, the hand hold, (which was not smaller in circumference), was wrapped with spirally cut bark of the wild cherry, *Prunus emarginata* (Dougl.) Walp., (puldmi'lp^{a}), for about six inches, held in place with glue or pine pitch. Each end of the bow (the portions not covered with sinew) was wrapped likewise. Finally, the whole bow was rubbed with sap from the sti'qwiluq^{a} tree to counteract checking of the wood. The sap was applied after heating the bow, or after melting the sap itself. When dry it left a smooth and glossy finish.

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The plain bow (Plate 2, Figure A) was made of ocean spray, sometimes in the modified "cupid's bow" shape characteristic of the sinew-backed type, but often in the form of a simple curve. One-half only of the branch selected was used for a single bow, but in this case the back of the bow retained the contour of the pole from which it was fashioned; only the belly was worked, being scraped almost flat, and the ends tapered. Other details of manufacture were identical with the previously described type, except of course, for the addition of sinew. The cherry bark wrappings were sometimes omitted, especially in bows made for temporary use. Embellishments consisting of concentric circles, in pairs or rows, incised and filled with paint, were added to the bellies of bows of either type. Also crude drawings of both geometrical and realistic nature were painted on with a blue-green pigment obtained from the viscera (?) of deer.

Few details concerning the bow of elk rib could be obtained. It is certain that it was little used. The rib was used without much shaping, except at the end where it had been attached to the backbone, and was consequently enlarged. Deer ribs were not used; they were too short.

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Bow strings were made of deer sinew or Indian hemp. The latter was satisfactory only for plain bows and light use. Sinews used in fabricating strings were taken from the back of the deer. The sections of sinew were soaked, dressed and spliced together, one end being tied to a stake in the ground for convenience in working. They were spliced and re-spliced until all knots were eliminated. The strands were then rolled between the palm and the thigh until tightly twisted. The finished cord was secured in a stretched position and allowed to dry two or three days, after which it was ready for use. The cord was permanently tied to one end of the bow, but only looped over the other, and loosened when not in use to avoid warping the bow.

Arrow shafts were made of two different woods.[16] Elder (?) (tcuqtcuqti'lp^{a}) was satisfactory for arrows to be used for small game, or only temporarily. Bone scrapers and straighteners of stone were used in fashioning shafts. Bending formed a part of the process. This was accomplished by holding the shaft between the teeth and applying pressure with the hands. The length varied from twenty to thirty inches. The diameter, averaging three-eighths of an inch, was uniform throughout the length of the shaft except where the feathers were attached, where it was slightly smaller. Hawk or eagle feathers, preferably the latter, supplied the vaning. The feathers were split into halves by tearing from the tip to the base, and most of the quill was shaved away from each part. A smooth edge and the proper shape were achieved by singing with a coal of fire. Three vanes were used on each shaft, spaced equidistant and parallel to each other. Pine pitch and sinew were used to bind the feathers to the shaft.

Arrow points were chipped from flint, chert, and other hard rocks found in abundance along the banks of the Columbia river. In addition, bone points were occasionally used. A stone point was always provided with a stem which was fitted into a notch in the end of the shaft, and anchored there with pitch and sinew. The point was placed in the same plane with the bow string notch. Informants stated that barbed points were not used, but I have discovered heads of this type in the shell mounds at na'a'q^{a} on the Columbia.

Arrows for small game and for use in games were sometimes made without vaning or separate points. The shaft itself might be sharpened, or left blunt, depending upon the use. Arrows used in games, and for certain birds, were made of rye grass, *Elymus* sp., (puspusani'ultan, "flat grass"), and provided with wooden points of syringa (Plate 2, Figures B,C). Sections of rye grass were cut, straightened by bending in the hands, and notched for the bow string. The points were fashioned differently according to the use to which they were to be put, and attached to the shaft by forcing the end of the latter into the pithy center of the wooden point. Vaning was unnecessary because the relatively heavy wooden point as compared to the light shaft carried the arrow in a straight course. [187]

Quivers were most commonly of buckskin or coyote skin, about two feet in length. Fringes provided embellishment. Capacities varied, up to fifty arrows. Only the single quiver was known.

[16]Possibly three, the uncertain material being ocean spray.

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Certain individuals gained reputations as especially talented bow makers. Others sought their services, paying well for products of excellence. 411

Bows were held vertically, with the arrow resting on the thumb, for all heavy shooting. For lighter shooting the bow was sometimes held at a forty-five degree angle, with the arrow resting between the index and second fingers. The arrow was grasped between the thumb and index finger. Sighting along the arrow was customary. 411 224

Hand or wrist guards were absent.

Covington declared that a deer could be killed at a hundred and fifty yards with a good bow and arrow. As an example of the power of the weapon he stated that a strong man could pierce three thicknesses of dry rawhide from the neck of a deer at a distance of ten feet.

Arrow points were never poisoned. However, many devices were used to increase their potential power. Points were often buried in the ashes beneath the camp fire, deep enough to avoid fracturing, and permitted to remain there for several days. When removed the color usually was somewhat changed. They were then capable of "burning their way right through a deer." Sometimes points were kept in the sweat lodge during ten or twelve sweating sessions, to add to their strength. Game did not fear or avoid arrows equipped with points that had been immersed in water in which rose branches had been soaked. If a person died after having eaten game taken with a certain arrow, that arrow would be useless until the point had been submerged in a decoction made of red ants in water. 411 789

ANIMALS NOT EATEN

Certain animals were never used as food. Among these were the snake, gopher, mouse, wood rat, all frogs, and the dog. Grasshoppers, crickets, ants and ant pupae were not eaten, though all were abundant. In fact, all insects were looked upon as unfit for food. 262 825

It was believed that the eating of a snake would be followed by gradual withering and death, attributable to the poison possessed by the reptile. The meat of the wood rat and gopher was avoided on account of the unpleasant odor. Frogs were "disgusting looking animals," and therefore not eaten. The thought of eating dog meat was an appalling one to my informant, though he had heard of other peoples doing it. Much the same attitude was taken regarding the use of insects as food—"they were not intended to be eaten."

At one time during John Tom's youth he was on a hunting trip with an older man. The latter killed a gopher and as a practical joke gave it to Tom, telling him to roast it and eat it. He did so, but disliked the taste and only ate a part of it. It did not make him ill. Later he learned that gophers were never eaten.

There was no tabu against porcupine, skunk or coyote; the latter was considered especially good food.

Food tabus attached to limited parts of various animals. The heart of the fool hen was never eaten, lest one become foolish himself. The eyes of the deer

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262 825 were always removed before the rest of the head was cooked, pierced with sticks, and placed in the branches of a tree. If eaten the result would be headache and sore or "broken" eyes.

Certain restrictions applied to women only. They were not allowed to eat the kidneys of the deer; men, however, cooked and ate them. Nor were women permitted to eat the blood of the deer, though they cooked it for the men.

261 266 Human flesh was strictly tabu. No suggestion of cannibalism, either ceremonial or otherwise, appears. John Tom stated that during a famine a woman once killed her child and ate it to keep from starving. As a result she died of "consumption" within a few months. I could elicit no details of the purported incident.[17]

DISPOSITION AND PRESERVATION OF MEAT AND HIDES

224 483 Two considerations regulated the duration of a deer hunting expedition. The first was the amount of game necessary to supply food and furs; the second was the amount that could be carried back to the home camp. Usually one or two weeks were required for obtaining the game, butchering, and drying the meat.

A deer was skinned and butchered either immediately upon making the kill, or after returning to the hunting camp. A strong man was able to carry a full grown deer for a considerable distance. (Young deer were seldom killed unless famine threatened.) The legs of the animal were tied together with the ends of the pack strap and the burden carried by passing the wide band of the strap around the chest. When the snow was covered with a hard crust it was often possible to drag the animal to camp. If the distance to camp were very great it was customary to skin and butcher the deer before transporting it. The pieces of flesh were placed inside the skin, the legs tied together, and the whole carried with the aid of a pack strap. The blood was usually caught in the paunch and carried along with the meat.

Whether whole or already butchered, a deer was never carried through the door of a lodge. Rather, a mat was removed from the side opposite the door to provide an opening through which the deer might be carried. Once inside, the animal was placed on a specially prepared bed of fir boughs. The objection to the use of the door was that blood from the dead animal was sure to drop in the [941] doorway. A menstruating woman might walk through the passage and over the blood, thereby insulting the deer, who would no longer permit themselves to be taken by the hunters. While a deer was inside a lodge no woman was allowed to walk behind it.

224 281 The conventional manner of skinning was the same whether it was done in camp or at the time of the killing. Hunting luck might be impaired if done in any other manner. First, the skin was cut down the inside of the fore legs and the hoofs were cut off. Then a long slit was made from the neck, along the ventral side to the crotch. From here a cut was made along the inside of the hind legs and those hoofs removed. Finally, from the middle of the neck the skin was cut

[17] CL, page 108.

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224 281 around the mouth and in front of the ears, terminating at the forehead. This made it possible to tear the skin as a whole from the flesh. The tail was not cut off. The meat was cut in thin slices of a few pounds each, convenient for drying.

476 The meat and horns of deer killed by members of a party were always divided evenly. The hides, on the other hand, belonged to the individuals who killed the animals. But if one hunter, for instance, had several hides, and another none, the lucky one ordinarily gave his less fortunate fellow one or two.

224 251 Meat was always dried at the hunting camp. For this purpose flat grids of willow withes, raised four or four and a half feet above the ground, were constructed. The area of the grids was made sufficient to hold the amount of meat that was to be dried; the poles were spaced four to six inches apart. Underneath the whole of each grid a slow fire of willow was built and kept alive until the meat was thoroughly dried or virtually cooked. This required twenty-four to forty-eight hours. Fissures were cut in the slices of meat to present a larger drying surface. During the process the slices were turned often. Bones, as well, were placed on the drying rack so that the fragments of flesh adhering to them might be dried and removed. Afterwards the bones were wrapped in old tule mats and [825] placed in the branches of trees. If this consideration were not accorded their remains the animals would resent it and disappear from the country. The racks described above were used principally for venison and bear meat. When only a small amount of meat was to be dried a hemispherical structure of bowed willows, resembling a crude sweat lodge frame, was used. With either type of rack a screen was built to break the wind when it was strong, so that the fires might burn evenly.

On rare occasions meat was sun dried in the manner of salmon. This method could only be used in summer, when the sun was very hot. However, the layers of intestinal fat from large game were regularly sun dried, then rolled up for storage.

An emergency vessel for boiling venison at the hunting camp was made by digging a small pit in the ground and lining it with deer skin.

252 888 The hoofs, muscles of the lower legs, head and lungs of deer were dried and kept separate from the rest of the meat. On the return to the winter village the wife of the leader of the hunt prepared a feast by boiling these parts, and all the old men, and possibly the old women of the village were invited to come and take part. The observance of this custom was obligatory. If it were omitted the leader would fail in all future hunting ventures, and would become the victim of all manner of ill luck. If any young person ate of these parts of the deer he soon became crippled.

177 251 415 Dried meat, other than that of the bear, was stored in tule bags in much the same manner as salmon.[18] Also, parfleches were used for this purpose, but perhaps only recently. The Sanpoil do not seem to have had the parfleche anciently, probably not prior to the acquisition of the horse. In fact, fragmentary evidence favors the assumption that the parfleche came to the Sanpoil as a part of the culture complex connected with the horse.[19]

[18] See page 76.
[19] See page 117.

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Parfleches were made from the raw hide of the buffalo or horse, in sizes varying from eight by sixteen inches to eighteen by twenty-eight inches, when folded. They were essentially envelopes of hide. The native term, pampama·'ks, means "folded on the ends." The pattern and the folded bag are shown in Figure 16.

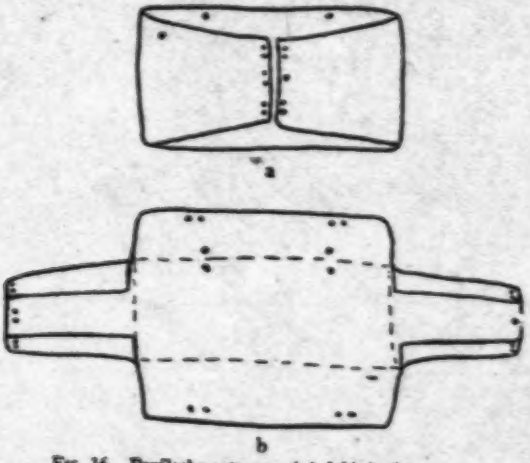

Fig. 16. Parfleche patterns: (a) folded, (b) open.

The front, or folded side of the parfleche, was divided into two or four sections, decorated correspondingly with painted, geometrical designs, characterized by large, bold figures, wide bands, and bright colors. The back of the bag was undecorated. Sometimes incised designs, also geometrical, were used on buffalo hide bags (Figure 17). Incisions were made in the green skin; when it dried the cut opened wider, making a clear design. Both the front and side panels were

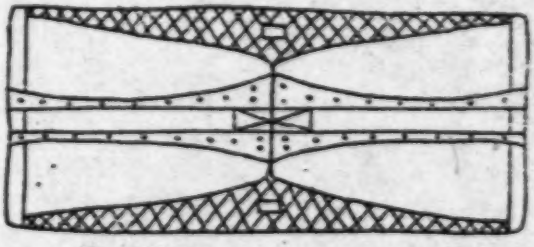

Fig. 17. Incised design on buffalo parfleche.

perforated for tying, the former with three pairs of holes, the latter with two pairs. Other combinations may have been used, but the few specimens that I have seen were similar. In general character the parfleches of the Sanpoil seem to fall into

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the northwest group defined by Spier, in which are the Yakima, Nez Perce, Crow, Gros Ventre and Wind River Shoshoni. The use of incised designs, for instance, definitely is restricted to this group. On the other hand, certain striking differences exist, notably the lack of decoration on the back of the Sanpoil specimens, whereas it appeared on all of Spier's Thompson, Kutenai and Yakima specimens and on a majority of the Nez Perce ones.[28]

Bear meat, though dried, could not be stored in parfleches, or even tule bags. These containers did not permit sufficient air to come in contact with the fatty portions to keep them from becoming rancid. The usual method of storage was to place successive layers on elevated platforms, the layers being separated by fir boughs.

Intestinal fat after drying was placed on elevated platforms and covered with tule mats. Tallow or hard fat was tamped into a paunch and the ends closed. The whole was then boiled for a short time, allowed to harden and stored. Or hard fat was sometimes simply melted in boiling water, cooled, and the mass stored (called sanlaudu", "hard fat").

SKIN DRESSING

Deer, elk, antelope and buffalo hides were usually tanned after removing the hair. The hair invariably was left on all other pelts. When the hair was removed from a skin it was not scraped off while the hide was green. Instead it was soaked in water overnight if fresh, or for two or three days if old. The pelt was weighted down and held flat on the bed of a stream or lake with rocks. When thoroughly soaked it was removed and laid over a log five or six inches in diameter which had been stripped of its bark and placed at an angle against a tree. A curved bone such as a deer rib, sometimes sharpened on one edge, was used to scrape off the hair. The scraping proceeded until all of the dark outer layer of the skin was removed. Then the hide was reversed and the flesh still clinging was scraped away with the same implement.

After this process was completed the skin was allowed to become thoroughly dry before further treatment. This required several hours, after which the skin was immersed in a solution of deer brains and warm water. The brains had been prepared by burying them in a closed basket seven or eight inches under the ground near the fire place. Here they were allowed to remain for two or three days during which time the brains decayed somewhat. The brains of one or two deer were mixed thoroughly with several gallons of warm water in a large basket. The skin was soaked in this mixture for twelve to forty-eight hours, depending upon the thickness of the hides. Upon removal the hide was twisted dry. This was accomplished by fastening one end to a tree, folding in the legs and rolling the other end onto a stick which was then used to twist the skin tight. Very large hides were twisted by two persons, using a stick at each end. In either case the skin was secured in the twisted position and left until all the moisture had dripped out or evaporated.

[28] Spier, *Plains Parfleche Decoration*, passim.

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The skin was then ready to be stretched upon the scraping frame (Plate 5, Figure A). This frame was formed by two poles set vertically in the ground about five feet apart, with two transverse poles lashed to them, one near the ground and the other about five feet above. Holes were pierced at intervals of about six inches around the entire edge of the skin. The hide was first fastened to the top pole and allowed to dry for a time, then the bottom was lashed tight to the lower pole. Next the sides were fastened to the upright posts. The lashing consisted of a buckskin thong tied to the post, passed through one hole in the skin, around the pole, through the next hole, etc. As the skin was scraped it stretched, necessitating occasional tightening of the lashings.

Upon the scraping and rubbing depended the pliability and thickness of the skin. A thick skin could be greatly enlarged in size by long working. To hasten drying during the working a fire was built on the ground on either side of the frame except on very hot days. The fires required careful attention, for too much heat dried the skin too fast, necessitating re-soaking. Scrapers (Plate 2, Figure F), were made of granite schist which was fractured by heating. Fragments two to four inches across were used. The working edge was rounded and sharpened. A wooden handle about two feet long and an inch or two in diameter was provided.

The scraping process occupied considerable time, sometimes several hours. Occasionally skins, especially small ones, were tanned without the use of a frame. The worker wrapped one end of the skin around her righ knee, pressed it against the ground, and pulled it taut with her left hand. In the right hand she used an unhafted stone scraper. At intervals she held the skin near the fire to hasten drying. A third method was to fasten the hafted scraper in a rigid position by thrusting it in the ground or fastening it to a tree. The skin was then moved over the scraper. This method was less popular than the preceding two. Finally, the simplest manner of tanning was by rubbing the skin between the hands for several hours. This was most practical for very small hides.

If a light colored hide was desired the tanning was completed with the scraping or rubbing. Ordinarily, however, smoking was added to enable the skin to better withstand dampness and wetting. Buckskin intended for moccasins was invariably smoked. For this purpose a small pit was dug in the ground over which a tripod was erected (Plate 5, Figure C). The skin was sewed loosely together so that it might be slipped over the poles of the tripod. In the pit, which was a foot in diameter and half again as deep, a slow fire of rotten pine or cedar was built. Occasionally other woods were used. Both sides of a skin were smoke treated. The time required depended entirely upon the texture of the skin, but averaged perhaps four hours. Some skins, especially those to be used for moccasins, were twice smoked. That is, after the smoking of the two sides had been completed in the usual fashion, the process was repeated, but for a shorter period of time.

Finally, the outside edge of the skin, where the holes had been punched, was trimmed off, for it always became badly torn during the rubbing; and any other holes that had appeared during the tanning were patched with pieces of buckskin sewed on with sinew.

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281 Pelts tanned without removing the hair were never immersed in water. The tissue remaining on the skin was scraped away while it was green, with the use of the same log and bone scraper previously described. The tanning agent was applied by sprinkling. After this had thoroughtly soaked in the hide was scraped and rubbed until dry and pliable. The frame was not used except for very large pelts.

462 Skin dressing was exclusively woman's work.

FRUIT AND VEGETABLE PRODUCTS

Roots, greens, stems, berries, seeds and nuts formed a valuable supplement to the meat and fish that held first place in the diet of the Sanpoil. These foods supplied valuable minerals and vitamins absent otherwise, and provided the bulk necessary to proper functioning of the digestive system. Camas, one of the roots most extensively used, has recently been found to contain inulin, a valuable stomachic and tonic, absent in most modern foods.[1] 222 262 796

A simple ceremony (skpu'mtcnam) accompanied the gathering of the first fruits and the first roots of the seasons. The fact that the group was separated into small isolated bands at these times of year probably accounts for the lack of elaboration in the rites. The ceremony was repeated with the ripening or maturity of each important fruit or root.

When the time arrived for an observance the chief or an old man of the band designated four or five women to gather the product and to arrange for the feast. A large quantity of the food was accumulated and carried to the camp of the chief or the old man, where it was laid out on tule mats. Then all of the people of the settlement were called together. They seated themselves in a circle around the food. The chief or old man spoke to them in the following vein:

"This is the way our forefathers used to do. That is why we gather here. We ought to keep up their customs, and do as they did. If we do we shall have good fortune. If we do not follow their practices it will reflect upon us."

Following this address each person present said a few words, expressing hopes for a successful harvest. The feast ensued. Each one took a handful of the fruit or roots from the large pile. This act terminated the restriction against gathering such food. The participants in the feast continued to eat, if possible, until all of the fruit or roots were gone. Only the product which was the occasion for the rite entered into the feast. No other food was provided.

If fruit or roots of the species for which the ceremony was held had been gathered and eaten prior to the observance, "it would have been just like stealing them." Such an act, though, would not have affected the abundance of the crop. However, as a corollary of the first roots ceremony, it was obligatory to steam the roots that were cooked during the first two days. If this were not done the harvest would be a very meager one. Likewise, the first gathering of service berries had to be eaten raw or the grizzly bear would become angry and cause trouble. [825]

ROOTS

The Sanpoil root digging grounds consisted of the entire portion of their territory lying south of the Columbia river, an area of over a million acres. This vast, uninviting, treeless desert was never used for the establishment of permanent camps but practically the entire Sanpoil population moved from its winter home 221 222 621

[1] Amsden, *Still Borrowing*, page 146.

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on the river and set up temporary quarters at various spots on this prairie early in April of each year. Here they remained for thirty to forty days, during which time the entire energies of the women were devoted to digging roots, for in this short period it was necessary to accumulate a sufficient supply to last the entire year. Groups comprised of four or five families usually travelled together, roaming from place to place over the prairie as one after another field was exhausted. Each woman dug over about one-half acre in one day. No large area was consistently covered, however. One field might be selected on one day, and another, perhaps far distant, on the next. All of the women from one group worked together, but they did not pool the products of their labors, and subsequently make an even division, as was the custom of the men in fishing and hunting. Each woman retained for the use of her family all the roots that she gathered.

The women of each group recognized some one of their group as leader. This was usually an old woman, well acquainted with the country from having covered it often in search of roots. It was she who selected the various fields to be visited day by day. She informed her co-workers every evening where they were to gather on the following day. The women met at the grounds; they did not unite at camp and depart together. Most women left about sunrise; slow walkers often left earlier.

The several varieties of camas were gathered in greatest quantity. Bitter root was second in importance. Other roots were gathered in considerable quantity as well. A good day of camas digging often netted as high as a bushel of roots.

The implement used in obtaining all roots was the same, the digging stick. This stick was fashioned from one of the hard woods, particularly service berry wood or willow, dried over a fire. The length was made to accommodate the height of the individual; the average was perhaps three feet. The stick was somewhat curved, either naturally so or artificially bent. The point was sharpened by burning and shaving. A transverse handle about six inches long, made of the same wood, or of horn, was provided. It was attached to the stick by drilling or burning a hole through its center, into which the stick was fitted. Wooden handles were usually straight; horn handles were curved. Women usually made their own digging sticks.

Small coiled or bark picking baskets were carried at the belt on the left side, where they would not interfere with the work of digging. When filled these were emptied into flexible bags of willow bark or Indian hemp, to be carried to camp at the end of the day. The skins of roots such as camas were slipped off as they were dug, or more commonly at camp in the evening.

Roots were sorted each evening upon being brought in. Those that had been damaged in digging were set aside for immediate use. Others were dried for future use. Drying was accomplished by spreading the roots on mats in the sun and frequently turning them.

Late in May most of the digging camps were struck, and preparations were made to move to the fishing grounds on the river. However, the task of transporting the dried roots to the storage places near the winter quarters had first to

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222 251 482 be disposed of. All men, women and children assisted. Several trips were usually required for such transportation. Roots were placed in permanent storage places, not re-stored in the fall. Old women who were not needed at the fishing grounds sometimes remained on the south side of the river somewhat longer, occasionally throughout the entire fishing season, and continued to dig roots. At the end of the time they traded their excess bags of roots with wives of fishermen for bags of dried salmon.

During the normal root digging season those who were forced to stay at the winter camps on the river for any reason gathered what roots could be found there, but they were very scarce on the north side of the river, and the bitterroot was especially acrid.

A list of the principal roots follows:

137 222 251 252 262 1. Camas, *Quamasia* sp., (sqwa'l i'tqwa, "meadow camas"). When the black outer skin of this root was removed the inner bulb appeared glossy white. It was an inch to an inch and a half in diameter, egg shaped, the largest and most desirable species of camas. Prepared by pit roasting; seldom steamed because it was difficult to make the root tender by this method. For storage, the bulbs were pulverized in a mortar, either while raw or after roasting, and formed into small cakes or balls to be dried. Sometimes forms were used to shape large cakes (apa'ma), which were subsequently sliced and then dried. This species was black after roasting. It was gathered in late May or June.

2. Camas, *Quamasia* sp., (squlu'sa). This species resembled the preceding one in appearance, shape and size, but matured earlier (April and May), and was found in drier localities. When cooked it turned light brown, not black, in color. It is sometimes called white camas. For immediate use it was steamed rather than roasted. A cooking basket was filled half full of water and hot rocks added to boil the water. Then small sticks were placed criss-cross in the basket above the surface of the water to hold the roots. After the roots had been added the basket was covered with a flat rock or piece of cedar plank to keep the steam from escaping.

   The upper part of this species was called sti'ixa'lps. Sometimes this root was eaten raw. For storage it was prepared in the same manner as i'tqwa (1).

3. Camas, *Quamasia* sp., (sunwəntu'nlak^{w}). This was a species considerably smaller in size and deeper growing than the previous ones, which grew principally on the banks of the Columbia. It was eaten raw or cooked in underground pits, but seldom steamed. It was gathered in April and May.

4. Camas (?), (tu'xwa). This was a root somewhat different in shape from the previous ones—more elongated and irregular in shape. The average length was perhaps two inches. It was dug in April and May and cooked in pits or eaten raw.

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5. Camas (?), (sa'ɣukʷ). This is doubtfully a camas, but was so termed by my informant. It was a root of the shape of i'ɬ̓ɣwa, but about half the size; gathered in June, and dried, or cooked in the earth oven with pine moss. 137 222

6. Bitterroot, *Lewisia rediviva*, (spi'tɬam). The bitterroot is a farinaceous root two to four inches long, growing in clusters of two to four per plant. The flesh is white, the skin pink. Bitterroot was mixed with service berries in equal parts, grease or fat added, and boiled, producing a congealed mass. The berries served to neutralize somewhat the characteristic bitterness which gave the roots their name. They were dried in great quantities. 251 252 262

7. Wild Onion, *Allium* sp., (qwɬa'ui). This bulbous, sheathed root was found only on the banks of the Columbia river. It was cooked by the pit roasting method.

8. Wild Carrot, *Daucus carota* (?), (sqlu'qum). The carrot was cooked for immediate consumption by steaming or boiling, or dried and stored for use during the winter.

9. Common Sunflower, *Helianthus annus* L., (wuɣwaɣkâ'lpʷ, "frog plant"). The sunflower root (p̓li'wa) was gathered, dried and stored for winter use.

The following roots are listed by the native terms, since they are unidentified botanically:

10. skukwi'nəm. This plant produced small, tuberous roots several in number. The flesh was white. They were numerous in April and May. They were boiled, eaten raw, or dried and stored.

11. masa'wi. This was an apiaceous herb with a spindle-like root; gathered not in the spring, but in October and November. It was quite extensively used, being roasted in the underground ovens.

12. puli'wa. This was a tuberous root with pink flesh, heavy skin and sweet flavor. Gathering time was throughout the spring; the place, hillsides near the river. It was necessary to roast the root before the skin could be removed.

13. smɨtsuná'luqʷ. This species resembled the preceding one in nature and appearance except that the skin was thinner, like that of the potáto, and the flavor bitter. It was gathered and cooked similarly to puli'wa (12).

14. q̓waq̓wa'xʷ, "sour, sour plant." The root of this plant possessed a white flesh and yellow skin; it was about three inches long and a half inch in diameter when mature. It was found in the spring along the banks of the Columbia, and eaten raw or roasted in pit ovens.

15. siya'iukən. This was a multiple root, white in color, each about five inches long. It could be gathered from spring until fall in damp places.

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16. t̓xaia'pa. This root, gathered in the mountains, was long (four to six inches) and slender. The plant, which grew about two feet high, was large leafed and produced red berries. The roots were cooked in pit ovens with pine moss.

17. a'yu'. After roasting in a pit oven, this root was pulverized, moistened with water and formed into cakes or balls which were then dried and stored.

FRUITS

Throughout the summer fishing season women made short one day trips along the banks of the river and nearby streams for the purpose of gathering berries. Such trips were made at times when salmon drying or other tasks were not pressing. Sometimes women relieved each other of the duties at camp for a few days to provide opportunities for berry picking. Women unencumbered by household duties often made longer journeys, lasting a week or ten days. Berry baskets and shelter mats were the only equipment carried on these trips. More extended journeys were made between the summer and fall fishing seasons. At this time the high mountains were visited and large quantities of berries obtained. The root, masa'wi, was dug at the same time. Occasionally the berries in the high altitudes were killed by late frosts. During such years it was necessary to depend upon the bushes on the banks of the Columbia river and the smaller streams for the fruit supply.

Service berries were the most abundant and perhaps the most important fruit. The chokecherry ran a close second. Huckleberries, though important, were used far less extensively than at present.

Picking baskets for berries were similar to those used for roots. They were carried at the belt, on either side. Certain berries were removed from the bushes with combs.

Following is a list of the commonly used fruits:

18. Flowering Service Berry, *Amelanchier florida* Lindl., (sɬake'lpᵘ). The berries (sɬukasa'laq) of this plant ripened in mid-July. They were eaten raw or cooked with salmon. For storage the berries were dried whole, or mashed and formed into cakes to be dried.

19. Flowering Service Berry, *Amelanchier florida* Lindl., (sii'lpᵘ). The berries (sii'a') of this variety were sweeter than the preceding ones, and lighter in color. They were used fresh, or sun dried on tule mats and stored.

20. Chokecherry, *Prunus virginiana* L., var. *melanocarpa* (A. Nels.) Sarg., (ɣlo-ɣlowi'lpᵘ, "hole-in-bush"). This tree was found throughout Sanpoil territory north of the Columbia river. The fruit (ɣloɣla'uɣ) ripened in August. Large quantities were gathered both for immediate use and for drying. A pemmican was made by mashing the unseeded berries in a mortar, then mixing them with pulverized dried salmon. The mixture was formed into cakes, dried and stored.

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21. Huckleberry, *Vaccinium* sp., (staxa'lqˢ, "sweet berry"). This included the red huckleberries and some of the blue or black species (blueberries). All ripened in July. The huckleberry was principally valuable as a fruit for immediate use, but some were dried in the sun. 137 222 251

22. Huckleberry or Blueberry. *Vaccinium* sp., (sat'pt'). This species was differentiated from the preceding one in size, the berries being smaller. It was used similarly. 252 262

23. Blue Elderberry, *Sambucus coerulea* Raf., (tsukwi'kˢ, "between sweet and sour"). Elderberries ripened in September. They were found in the hills and mountains. Eaten fresh.

24. Scarlet Strawberry, *Fragaria virginiana* Duch., var. *platypetala* Hall, (tɔqe'mtɔqem). The strawberry was gathered in the mountain meadows in July for immediate use.

25. Oregon Grape or Western Holly, *Berberis aquifolium* Pursh, (sadɣai'lpˢ, "sour plant"). The berries of the Oregon grape were eaten fresh during the fall when they were ripe.

26. Thimbleberry, *Rubus parviflorus* Nutt., (pulpulakɑni'lmɪlxˢ, "wide leaved plant"; pa'lpulakɑn, "wide leaved plant berry"). Thimbleberries were ripe throughout July and August; they grew in the mountains. Used while fresh.

27. Wild Blackberry, *Rubus* sp., (mɪtca'kˢ). The blackberry was found in rocky regions south of the Columbia river, where it ripened in July. The berries were eaten raw, or dried.

28. Raspberry, *Rubus* sp., (la'la'). This species was used only in the raw state. It grew in relatively damp regions; the berries matured in June and July.

29. Kinnikinnick, *Arctostaphylos uva-ursi* Spreng., (skuli's, "red berry"). The small red berries of the kinnikinnick were gathered in the fall or spring and dried, to be later used in soups.

30. Creek Dogwood, *Cornus pubescens* Nutt., (stɪkɔtcuxwi'lpˢ, the tree; sti'ktcˢ, the berry). This small, white, soft centered berry was eaten fresh during August, at which time it ripened.

31. Wild Gooseberry, *Ribes irriguum* Dougl., (saqasɪkelmɪ'lxˢ, "good bush"; sapa'slukˢ, "good berries"). These berries were used fresh in large quantities in August. They could not be successfully dried.

32. Rock Currant, *Ribes cereum* Dougl., (yɛɣki'lpˢ, "round bush"). Raw currants were eaten from the bushes which grew along the Columbia. The berries from bushes growing in the hills were not eaten; it was thought that they would cause headache, nose bleeding and sore eyes. However, Burke stated that he had often eaten them without experiencing any ill effects.

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33. Currant, *Ribes* sp., (ɛpu·'sɛm, "foam berry"). This red currant grew in the mountains and was picked in July. It was used fresh or dried. In either case it was used in conjunction with service berries, which added sweetness. The two berries were mixed with water and whipped to a froth. 137 222 251

34. Currant, *Ribes* sp., (anti'tumulps). This species was found near streams; it ripened in June. Eaten raw. 252 262

35. Currant, *Ribes* sp., (is'takɛn). If this currant were found on the north side of the river the berries were not eaten alone, lest illness result. If mixed with other food, however, it was harmless, or if found south of the Columbia it was eaten raw without ill results. This was a red currant ripening in July.

36. Columbia Hawthorn, *Crataegus columbiana* Howell, (stamo'q'). The berries or apples of this hawthorn were not much used. They could not be stored for they invariably spoiled. When used fresh they were eaten whole or mashed in a mortar. They were gathered in August.

37. Hawthorn, *Crataegus brevispina* (Dougl.) Heller, (ɛxwa'mi'k). The berries of this species were sometimes boiled, then dried and stored. Even thus treated they kept without molding only for short periods. They were also used raw. They could be gathered throughout the fall.

STEMS

A few stems, or parts of stems, of widely divergent types, were eaten.

38. Prickly Pear, *Opuntia polyacantha* Haw., (ɛxwi'i'nɛ, "mice food"). This cactus was found widely spread over Sanpoil territory. A quantity of the pears were gathered, placed in a shallow depression dug in the ground, and a fire built over them to burn off the spines. As soon as this had been accomplished they were removed and pit roasted.

39. Common Sunflower, *Helianthus annus* L., (wuɣwaɣkɛ' p^{a}, "frog plant"). The stems of the young sunflower were gathered when they first appeared in the spring and eaten raw.

40. Sweet Coltsfoot, *Pedasites speciosa*, (ɣoɣti'lp^{a}, "cut off-plant"). The succulent petioles of this plant were eaten raw after removing the integumental fibers.

41. Bull Pine, *Pinus ponderosa* Dougl., (sun'tkulp^{a}). The cambium layer of this pine, which was eaten raw, formed an important food. The bark was removed in sections about eighteen inches long with the aid of a wedge made of wood. Sap scrapers were made from the rib of the deer by cutting it to an appropriate length (ten or twelve inches), sharpening the edges and rounding the working end. Sometimes the handle end was smoothed on the edges.

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42 Chokecherry. *Prunus virginiana* L., var. *melanocarpa* (A. Nels.) Sarg., (xlo-xlowi'ip[a]. "hole-in-bush"). A decoction made from the branches of the chokecherry was drunk as a beverage, as well as a medicine.[2] The bark is said to have supplied the flavor.

43 suwi'a' (unidentified). This was a small bushy plant. The portions of the stems just above the ground were eaten raw in the spring, when they were tender.

NUTS, SEEDS, LICHEN, ETC.

44 Pine. *Pinus ponderosa* Dougl., (sua'tkulp[a]). Pine nuts (sqa'uqu) were gathered in the fall and eaten without further preparation. They were not stored for winter because too much time would have been consumed in accumulating any considerable quantity.

45 Hazel. *Corylus californica* (A. DC.) Rose. (qe'puxwa'), the hazel nut. Hazel nuts were gathered in fairly large quantities, principally for storage. They were taken from the bushes and from the nests of squirrels. The nuts were stored without removing the shells. The meat of the nut was sometimes pulverized before being used, but more often was eaten whole.

46 Common Sunflower. *Helianthus annus* L., (wuywaɣka'ip[a], "frog plant"). Sunflower seeds (mi'k'tu) were gathered in the fall for immediate use and for winter storage. Preparation consisted in parching the seeds on a shallow rock which had been heated in the fire. The seeds were stirred about on the parching stone until brown. Before being eaten or stored they were pulverized in a mortar. Storage was in salmon skins.

47 Pine Lichen. (sqwal'i'p). This lichen (sometimes called pine moss) was to be found in great quantities hanging from the limbs of pines. It formed an important food product which could be obtained at any time of the year. The lichen was cleaned by hand of extraneous matter but was not washed or soaked. After cleaning it was placed in the roasting pit in alternate layers with wild onion and camas, or with the onion alone. After two or three days' cooking a dark colored, gelatinous mass was produced. This was cut into slices for immediate use, or for drying and storage. The dried product was prepared for consumption by boiling which restored it to very much its state before drying.

This food was one of the best liked of all vegetable preparations. The lichen is said to have sweetened the concoction.

48 Mushroom. Various edible mushrooms were eaten without cooking, but after peeling off the outer skin.

49 Wooly Field Mint. *Mentha arvensis* L., var. *lanata* Piper, (to'a-ti"wa, "rattler plant"). The leaves and stems of this mint were boiled for a few minutes to make a beverage. The liquid was strained before drinking.

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[a] medicinal use see page 221.

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50. Coyote Mint, *Monardella odoratissima* Benth., (ap'kanu'sastəm, "spear wiping plant"). This mint was used in preparing a beverage, hot or cold, in the same manner as the preceding one. 137 [272] 222

51. Western Larch, *Larix occidentalis* Nutt. The gum which collected on the stump of a burned or fallen larch was eaten. 251 252

52. Yellow or Bull Pine, Larch and Fir. The gum from these trees was chewed. 262

Vegetable foods were stored in regular storage houses such as were used for salmon and meats.[3] But in addition the tightly closed bark containers were sometimes deposited in thickets of sagebrush. They were anchored there with flat rocks. Protected spots at the bases of cliffs were used at other times. The cache at such a place was concealed with sagebrush. About one week's supply of food was removed from storage at a time.

[3] See page 76

FOOD PREPARATION

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262

To the notes on the preparation of food products for consumption included with the preceding descriptions, certain other details and some generalizations may be added. Cooking methods included boiling, pit roasting, ordinary roasting, steaming and parching. Meat and fish were prepared either by boiling or by roasting before an open fire. The former method was by far the more common. Dried salmon or meat was boiled to restore the lost moisture, even though it were to be roasted later. Pit roasting was reserved for the preparation of fresh vegetable products or vegetables mixed with fruits, and possibly for bear meat. If food cooked in the pit were to be used immediately no further treatment was necessary; if first dried it could not then be used until boiled. Another method of cooking fresh vegetables for immediate use was steaming, already described.[1] Seeds alone were parched, and since there was only one seed of importance used, that of the sunflower, this was the least important of cookery methods.

Cedar root coiled baskets of elliptical shape (xlakɔt'cʌ'n)[2] were used for boiling food. Stone vessels or pottery were never so utilized. The water in which the food was to be placed was caused to boil by adding stones heated in the camp fire. Water-worn round boulders were used for this purpose. They were removed from the fire to the water with wooden tongs. Most boiled foods were of the consistency of a stew, or often as thin as soup. Macerated berries or roots were often added to dried fish which was being boiled. Dried vegetable cakes were immersed in broth of meat or salmon until softened.

Pit roasting was a method of "fireless" cooking. A pit about three feet in diameter and two or three feet deep was excavated. In the bottom were placed heated rocks. These were covered with a layer of bracken, *Pteridium aquilinum* (L.) Kuhn, var. *pubescens* Underw., (tsuqtsuqma'lpˣ, "cedar plant"), which had been immersed in water. Next the food was placed in the pit and covered with another layer of wet bracken. Then the removed earth was piled over the pit and sometimes a fire was built on top. The food was allowed to remain in the earth oven for one to three days before being removed. Water was never poured into the pit. Often two or three women cooked in the same oven, in which case each wrapped her food separately in ferns. Camas which had been cooked in the earth oven was prepared for storage by mashing in a wooden mortar, forming into cakes or balls and drying.

Salmon and fresh meat were often roasted by holding over the open fire on long sticks. The sticks were sometimes stuck in the ground at an angle. Pine lichen was moistened and covered with hot ashes to cook it quickly. Turtles were also cooked in the coals of the camp fire, being placed there on their backs, alive.

Pemmican was made in various fashions, some of which have been already mentioned. Pounded service berries, pounded dried venison and deer tallow were kneaded together to make one of the popular varieties. Pulverized dried salmon

[1]Page 99.
[2]See pages 33-3

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252 was mixed with either berries or meal made from sunflower seeds, or both, with
262 fat added. Still another combination was bitterroot and service berries, in about equal quantities, and fat, boiled together and allowed to harden.

Dried salmon and dried meat were not always cooked before being eaten. Salmon could be rendered edible by pounding in a mortar, or simply between two rocks. Sometimes it was held near the fire until the oil was melted and the flesh thereby softened.

Eels were roasted in small pieces when fresh, or were boiled after being dried.

Shell fish were boiled in the shells. Crawfish were boiled alive.

Woodchucks were cut open, cleaned, the hair burned off, and then boiled without removing the skin. Grouse were similarly prepared after plucking the feathers.

The blood of the deer, if not drunk while fresh, was usually boiled with service berries. The result was a bitter gelatinous food, but one well liked by many.

Salmon eggs were mixed with berries or roots and boiled, making a very desirable dish.

Animal bones were boiled, then broken open, the marrow removed and eaten.

251 Fresh water, obtained principally from the Columbia river but also from
271 streams and springs, usually was drunk with meals, but broth or soup from venison, bear, fish, fowl or vegetables was preferred.

FAMINE FOODS

261 Famines were less common than might be expected considering the nature of the food supply and the severity and length of the winters. Even though there was considerable yearly fluctuation in the size of the salmon runs the quantity of fish was usually more than adequate. Less dependence could be placed on the game supply. Frequently hunting parties returned empty handed, but this situation rarely made for a famine. Dried salmon, it must be remembered, was the staple and fresh meat usually supplemented the winter diet, rather than constituted it. The supply of roots was fairly constant, the berries less so. Late frosts sometimes rendered the fruit supply very small indeed. Carelessness was probably responsible for more acute shortages of food than natural conditions. But shortages of this sort usually found compensation in the industriousness of others. Those well stocked with food-stuffs invariably shared with those in need, even though carelessness on the part of the latter was responsible for the lack. Persons in extremely straightened circumstances, who had no close relatives or friends capable of assisting, were sometimes forced to resort to a formalized procedure of begging for food if they were not willing to live with others. Food was never borrowed, to be later repaid. Very little bartering of food was done.

During periods of want the game and salmon bones which had been previously deposited for ceremonial reasons in the branches of trees, were recovered and used as soup bones. Usually a bit of flesh had adhered which could be boiled off. Afterwards the bones were carefully replaced in the trees.

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The pips of the Rocky Mountain rose, *Rosa californica* C. & S., var. *ultramontana* Wats., (skukuwi'lp[a]), which were present in abundance, and which could be gathered in the winter since they remained on the bushes during that season, became an important food in times of famine. They were not eaten otherwise. 261

Pieces of hide, cut from old clothing or robes, could be rendered edible by roasting over the fire until very crisp. Salmon skins were held near the fire until softened, and eaten. In the spring, after a long hard winter which had depleted the food supply, it was customary to watch the backwater pools of the Columbia for the first steelhead. As soon as one was seen to jump a basket would be filled with water from the pool and carried to camp. The person bringing it called the villagers together and said, "Here, have some of my salmon soup." All partook with ceremonial gravity.

Two severe famines are recalled by every Sanpoil. Both were caused indirectly by unusual natural phenomena. The earlier catastrophe was a heavy fall of volcanic dust which occurred in the latter part of the eighteenth or the early part of the nineteenth century.[5] The second was a severe earthquake which came in November, 1873.[6] In both cases all the usual economic pursuits were forsaken in the face of the strange and unaccountable happenings and the time was given over to praying. When winter came insufficient food had been stored and suffering resulted. Burke described the happenings as follows: 173 261 731

When my grandmother was a small girl a heavy rain of white ashes fell. The people called it snow. After they got wheat flour they said it was just like that. The ashes fell several inches deep all along the Columbia and far on both sides. Everybody was so badly scared that the whole summer was spent in praying. The people even danced—something they never did except in winter. They didn't gather any food but what they had to have to live on. That winter many people starved to death. Besides that an epidemic of smallpox(?) killed a lot of people. And the next spring some warriors from the south came and killed still more. 159 173 261 731

When starvation was worst people even ate the flesh of their dead neighbors. Other people picked up prairie chicken droppings and made soup with them.

A big earthquake came when my mother was a girl. It was worst around Lake Chelan but it was very bad all over our country. It first came about midnight. Cracks opened up in some of the underground houses and they filled with water. The people crowded together in the houses that were left whole and prayed. Some of the people knew Catholic prayers and they said them over and over. Some people went crazy. They ran around the hills tearing off their clothes and finally dying. Most of the winter food had been gotten in but not all and in the spring people went hungry. But it wasn't as bad as the ash storm.

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[5] There is considerable disagreement among natives as to the date of this event. Reckoning is in terms of the approximate ages of various ancestors at the time of the occurrence. Teit's informant placed the date at 1770 (Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, page 291), but all of my informants agreed that it was after the turn of the century.

[6] This date is quite certain. There is official record of but one major earthquake in this region. The exact time was November 22, 1873. The quake was classed by Holden as "extremely severe" and was rated VIII on the Rossi-Forel scale (Holden, *A Catalogue of Earthquakes*, pages 96-97).

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SOCIAL STRUCTURE

THE POLITICAL UNIT AND ITS GOVERNMENT

The Sanpoil[1] political unit was the village. Tribal organization in the ordinary sense was lacking entirely. The inhabitants of a village were known by the name of that village plus the prefix "s" or the suffix "x^{w}," or both.[2] No term existed or any larger political aggregation, but there was a name for the more inclusive dialectic division.[3] The members of each village were subject to their own chiefs and to no others. The chief of one village, no matter how small, answered in no wise to the chief of any other village. In fact one chief seldom even conferred with another. They treated each other with respect but each maintained complete independence. The matters of government of each village were entirely in the hands of the chief (ilmi'xum), his sub-chief (i'ilmi'xum) and the assembly (skwa·'kwa'ɛ'l).

The Sanpoil realized that many of their neighbors, not far distant, lived under an entirely different type of political organization in which many villages were closely knit into a single group which recognized a single head. Informants used these tribes for contrast to make it entirely clear that the only bonds between the Sanpoil villages were of an utterly different nature. These bonds were social, linguistic, common interests and customs—not political.

Though theoretically every village, large or small, was autonomous, there was some modification of the principle in practice. A very small village, especially one of only two or three houses, often affiliated with the nearest large settlement to the extent of attending the assemblies and soliciting the advice of the chief of the latter. This was a volitional proceedure, however, for the sake of convenience. The small village in such a case did not recognize a chief but named a head man to represent it at the political meetings of the large community. But even under such an arrangement the acts of the large village were never binding upon the other. Decisions which were thought wise were respected, others were ignored.

Village composition was very fluid. A person was bound in no way to any particulkr village. He was privileged to change his residence at any time, selecting as his new home any village of the group. Families often lived for a few years at one location, tired of it or became dissatisfied, and moved to another settlement. This might be continued indefinitely. On the other hand a certain proportion of the Sanpoil remained in their respective villages throughout life but this sedentary group was always in the minority.

Mere residence constituted citizenship in a village. Since village population was constantly shifting the enfranchised members of a community always included many newcomers. The political rights of these newcomers were identical with those of lifelong residents. They were entitled to participate in all community ventures, to vote in assemblies, and were even eligible to hold office.

[1]The derivation of the term Sanpoil and the manner in which it is here used is explained in the Introduction, page 9.
[2]See pages 9, 15-20.
[3]See page 10.

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The preceding remarks apply to married persons only. During the period of extensive travelling indulged in by most young men between puberty and the time of marriage the villages at which they temporarily resided did not recognize them as citizens. Young women remained with their parents until marriage but at this time it was often necessary to move to another village, since residence was patrilocal.[4] There was of course no village exogamy but the travel by young men often resulted in wives being taken in villages other than their own. Thus women, even more uniformly than men, became citizens of villages other than those in which they were born.

This constant shifting and intermixture created a strong feeling of unity among these otherwise independent villages. The Sanpoil, it becomes clear, were much more truly "one people" than might appear from only a cursory examination of their system of political divisions and allegiances.

Moreover, the various villages made use of the same hunting and berrying grounds.[5] These grounds were not considered either village or group property. No concept of real property existed.[6] The use of common territory was a matter of expediency made possible by the friendly relations existing between the villages. The area, fairly definitely bounded, was considered by the Sanpoil as their proper range for food gathering but no effort was made to keep outsiders from making use of it also. Neighboring groups, however, were reasonably considerate and encroachment was slight.

Chieftainship was hereditary in principle. The normal order of succession was son, brother, brother's son, but no priority was held by one son over another, one brother over another, etc. This made way for an unusual compromise between hereditary succession and popular selection. Whenever more than one person was eligible the assembly selected one of the number by vote. It was the privilege of the normal successor, or the one selected, to reject the office. Such action was not uncommon for the position carried with it great responsibility and little compensation. In such a case, or when no one was left in the line of succession, the assembly made a choice at large. Also if a chief moved permanently from the village over which he ruled he lost his position and the assembly selected a new chief from among the villagers. Thus the genealogical line of chiefs was often broken and the selective power of the assembly was of great importance. Once in office, however, a chief retained his position until death or until he gave it up of his own accord.

In the selection of a chief an attempt was made to name a man of honesty, sound judgment, even temperament and, most important of all, one skilled in arbitration. Often the sub-chief was elevated to the position of full chief if his record in the minor office had been satisfactory. The vacancy thus caused was filled by a new man. A man was not more apt to receive either office because of possession of wealth. The informal gifts that a chief received kept him from poverty but did not necessarily make of him a rich man. A chief often gave out more

[4] See page 140.
[5] See the map, Figure 1, page 14.
[6] Cf. pages 27-28.

562 622 presents than he received (see below). Women were not eligible to chieftainship, as they were among the Lakes[7] and the snaqaie'tk*.[8] "Women have no control over men!" (Covington)

565 622 The status of a chief's family was no different from that of families of other prominent members of the village. They were not accorded special privileges and were not designated by a special term.

622 The sub-chief was nominally elected by the assembly but in most cases he was actually named by the chief and the selection was merely confirmed by the assembly. There was some tendency to follow the same pattern as in the choice of a full chief with the result that the sub-chieftainship often remained in one line of descent for some time. Each village had but one sub-chief.

622 626 The chief was a leader, counselor and judge. He directed the movements of his people, attempted to guide their actions in manners he thought wise, looked after the general welfare, arbitrated disputes, presided over the assembly and rendered the final verdict in all criminal cases. In the two latter capacities he was most powerful. Otherwise he was chiefly an advisor. Even as head of the assembly he could only strive to direct its actions by oratory and reasoning; he had no dictatorial power.

622 692 It was clearly one of the principal duties of a chief to preserve tranquility within the village. He attempted by personal intervention to settle all disputes peacefully. After hearing all of the testimony in a civil dispute he announced what he felt would constitute a fair settlement. The complainants were not bound to accept his judgment but in most cases they acceded. It was not uncommon for a chief to give away considerable quantities of his personal property in keeping peace in his village. A Whitestone chief, k'aio'sa'lixkan, was said to have [551] settled all minor grievances which were brought to him by presenting each complainant with a blanket.

622 624 The sub-chief was the chief's assistant. The chief designated certain tasks to him but there was no formal division of power between the two. The chief sought the advice of his assistant in making important decisions. But in all matters final action was in the hands of the chief. Appeals might be brought to him from unsatisfactory decisions of the sub-chief.

Both the chief and sub-chief were served by a spokesman (sxrwa'wa'm)[9] and messengers. One spokesman served for both. At all public meetings the spokesman stood beside the chief and repeated to the audience that which the chief [202] spoke in a low monotone. Messengers were fast runners who were sent to announce meetings, spread important news and carry the messages of the chiefs.

The chief's badge of office was a headdress with two long buckskin pendants covered with eagle feathers.

Special chiefs such as war chiefs were unknown. In case of conflict the regular

[7] Ray, *Lakes Ethnographic Notes.*
[8] Walters, *Sinkaieth Social Structure.*
[9] Cf. the shaman's spokesman, pages 190, 204.

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chief assumed charge. There was, however, a salmon "chief" but he was more truly a spiritual than a secular leader.[39] 622

All adult members of a village, male and female, were entitled to a place in the general assembly. All members had equal rights; these included the right to speak and the right to vote. Only the chief called meetings of the assembly but he referred all matters of major importance to the people in this manner. If he wanted to learn the opinion of the people in regard to some matter or if he wanted advice in making a decision of major importance, a meeting was called, as well as when matters were to be put to the vote of the people. In the absence of the chief, or upon his death, the sub-chief called meetings of the assembly and presided over them. At other times his status was identical with any other member. Matters which were invariably referred to the assembly included the plan of action when conflict threatened, major group movements and elections. 623 624

The assembly usually met at the chief's house. Meetings were held indoors if the number permitted but this was not for the sake of privacy. They were open to all who wished to attend but only the assembly members were permitted to take part. Meetings were held in the afternoons, sometimes lasting over two or three days. The seating within the meeting house was roughly formal. The chief, sub-chief, shamans and older men occupied the end of the room opposite the entrance. Assembly members were seated throughout the middle of the room and spectators around the entrance end. The chief spoke first, presenting the problem demanding consideration or the business to be handled. He then called on certain members to voice their opinions, after which any member of the assembly might speak. Finally the chief again spoke, often at considerable length. If voting were necessary that followed. If an official were to be elected any member was privileged to nominate. Discussion followed each nomination and voting did not proceed until all nominations were made. Voting was by acclamation.

Recesses were called two or three times during a meeting lasting over a period of hours. At these times the chief and those associated with him engaged in formal smoking. One of the group filled a pipe with tobacco furnished by the chief and passed it to the latter. After taking a few puffs the chief passed it on. Each man sitting around the chief was given a turn, but in no particular order. 276 623

There was no formal council in the Sanpoil governmental system. The chief consulted with the old men, especially his close friends, more often than with others and kept them near him at assembly meetings, but this was a purely informal relationship and no organized meetings were held.

CRIMES AND THEIR PUNISHMENT

Those accused of crimes were brought before the chief and tried in an open hearing. Witnesses were summoned; all who professed any knowledge of the crime were allowed to speak. Evidence of any sort was invited, direct or indirect. After all the testimony had been heard the accused was given an opportunity to make his statement. Finally those who wished to plead for the accused were 622 692 695

[39] See pages 69-71.

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heard. If the chief desired further information he questioned the witnesses and the defendant. When satisfied as to the conditions of the case he rendered a verdict from which there was no appeal. Punishment consisted of a payment of goods to be made to the injured person or his family, or of corporal punishment administered by an official lasher.

The lasher (sxqlt'as"m) was appointed by the chief. Sometimes several served concurrently. They received no compensation. John Tom's father once served as lasher. This method of punishment was taken over by the early whites when they gained control of the region. The lash used was braided from the neck sinew of the deer. It was about three feet in length and provided with a short wooden handle.

In cases of adultery and witchcraft revenge was sometimes taken by the injured person or his family before the chief acted.[11] If there were general agreement that the person upon whom the revenge was taken was guilty the act was condoned by the chief and the matter was dropped. If the matter of guilt were uncertain the chief investigated by holding a hearing. If it were held that the revenge had been unjustly taken a payment was awarded the wronged person or his family.

When a murder occurred other than as above the case was always brought before the chief unless the families of the murderer and victim settled the matter immediately by agreeing upon proper payment. Sometimes the murderer fled to the hills to allow his relatives a longer time to settle before the chief interfered. The payments levied when a murderer was found guilty varied according to the degree of guilt. At maximum the amount was great; for instance, several horses, several fine buckskins or two or three canoes. Often it was necessary for the relatives of the guilty one to assist in making the payment. John Tom remembered six murders that had been committed during his lifetime but assured me that before the white man brought in liquor the number was not nearly as great.

Stealing, perjury as a witness, assault, improper sexual relations and abortion were punished by lashing on the bared back. In each case a hearing was held by the chief and the number of lashes were set by him. These varied from a few strokes to a hundred or more, depending upon the particular nature of the crime. Old offenders were treated more severely than others.

KINSHIP AND NAMES

I am reserving the Sanpoil kinship system and terms and age status terms for treatment in a separate paper.

A child received its first name before reaching a year of age.[12] It was not necessary ever to take another but in most cases this was but the first of a series of names acquired or taken at various times throughout life. Names were of two widely divergent sorts: first, ancestral or family names that had long since lost

[11] See pages 145 and 210. Further material on the punishment of crimes is to be found in other sections, especially the ones on marriage and shamanism.

[12] See page 131.

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any meaning that they may ever have possessed; and second, names conferred by guardian spirits, always meaningful and symbolic. It was not uncommon for a person to use two names at the same time, one of each type. Shamans nearly always did, reserving the spirit name for professional use.

Spirit names were always acquired during adolescence but were not used until after initiation at the winter dance upon maturity.[13] A family name was either taken by an adult a few years after the death of its possessor or conferred upon a child after the elapse of a similar time. In the former case there was no ceremony involved; in the latter a simple rite was performed accompanied by a feast. A brother, son or grandson was entitled to take or receive the name of a deceased male; a sister, daughter or granddaughter that of a deceased female.

When an ancestral name was conferred upon a child an elderly relative took charge of the ceremony. A small number of guests were invited, mostly relatives. The child was present but neither spoke nor took part in the feast. The rite, which took place in the afternoon, consisted principally of eulogies of the person previously possessing the name and advice to the child. The name was formally bestowed with the words, "Now he (mentioning the name) lives again." The feast followed and the child was thenceforth addressed by the new name.

As an illustration of a typical series of names possessed by an individual we may take John Tom. At the advanced age at which I worked with him he had forgotten his first name, which had been used but a few years. His second name was conferred upon him by an elderly relative at the request of his mother. It was keim't'i'kən, the former name of his oldest brother, who had died before John was born. When he was a young man his second oldest brother, of whom he was very fond, died. A few years later John took the name of that brother, sɔyau'x-mukən, in memory of his [illegible] and also because people did not like the sound of his former name. His professional name was xwi'wi'lx°, "passing by."[14] This name he used exclusively from the death of his mother until his own death. "I used only that name after my mother died," he said, "because all of my relatives were 'passing by'."

Many examples of names of both types will be found scattered throughout the text. Spirit names are always translated; ancestral names stand alone.[15]

WARFARE

Warfare was almost unknown to the Sanpoil. All informants denied that any major conflict had occurred "as long as could be remembered." Admirable relations existed between the Sanpoil and all of their immediate neighbors. Distant warlike tribes failed to molest them, doubtless because of their isolation and comparative poverty. Even in the mythology when warfare was mentioned the scene was far distant and the Sanpoil were not involved.

Whenever even a remote threat of warfare appeared the chiefs called the assemblies together and pleaded with the people to retain their neutrality at any

[13] See pages 192-94.
[14] See page 185.
[15] See also the list on page 138.

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181 cost. The virtues of pacifism were extolled and a strong appeal was made that
721 their long record of peacefulness be not marred. At the time when the Spokane Indians warred with the whites their chief attempted to persuade his close friend, Kolaskin, a Sanpoil chief, to bring his people and join them. But Kolaskin and
[551] the Sanpoil paid no heed to the entreaties.

721 The Sanpoil were not free from the depredations of raiding parties. These were groups of adventurers, usually two or three canoes full, who were bent on personal gain and whose actions were not representative of the attitudes of the tribes from which they came. The principal offenders were the Lakes, Shuswap, Coeur d'Alene and Nez Perce. The raids were usually made when the able-bodied men of the village were absent. During the fall hunting season was a favorite time. These raiders not only stole property but attacked the helpless women and children as well. One autumn a Nez Perce raiding party approached a village but were seen by the old people in time to escape and hide. The children, however, were left playing about the lodges. The Nez Perce, after pillaging the village, killed a small boy with a club and tied his body to the ridge pole of a lodge along with a dried dog salmon.

Revenging parties were seldom organized, and never with the approval of the chief.[18]

TRADE AND TRAVEL

181 Although the Sanpoil lived on the great Columbia river trading route they
439 took little part in the trading activities. Various explanations for such a situation might be suggested. The Sanpoil had little that was unique to offer in exchange for exotic articles. With characteristic caution they were little disposed to jeopardize the winter food supply by trading their dried fish for trinkets. They felt, too, that barter was conducive to quarrels and bloodshed, and the small material gain that might be derived from trading was considered far less desirable than the maintenance of friendly relations with their neighbors and visitors. Apart from the psychological considerations, the Sanpoil were not situated in a geographically
181 favorable location for carrying on a thriving trade. Reference to the map (Figure
366 1) will show that there is no point on the Sanpoil portion of the trade route that might serve as a natural meeting place except perhaps near Hunters, where the
439 Sanpoil, Colville and amaka'lt adjoin. However, the latter people had no villages at that point; it was but an isolated corner of their hunting territory far from their homes on the Spokane river. Moreover, Hunters were too close to the great trading center of Kettle Falls to offer the latter much competition.

366 This opens the subject of the surrounding trading points which the Sanpoil frequented. These, in order of importance (to the Sanpoil) were Kettle Falls (Colville territory, adjoining the Lakes); Brewster, on the mouth of the Okanogan
226 river (amaqaie'tk° territory, adjoining the Methow and Wenatchi); the mouth of
366 the Wenatchi river (Wenatchi territory); and the Dalles (Wishram territory). The
439 primary attraction at Kettle Falls was the huge basket traps that netted tremen-

[18] Cf. page 25. A tale of Sanpoil raiders in Blackfoot country is told on page 117.

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dous quantities of fish each summer. The Colville who in conjunction with the Lakes were in charge of the trap, shared the Sanpoil custom of communal distribution of the fish. Thus all present, regardless of nativity, received an equal share of the catch. Each fishing season saw many persons from Kalispel, Coeur d'Alene, Spokane, snaka'lt, sqasi'lni, Sanpoil, Nespelem, snəqaie'tkʷ, Methow, Chelan and Okanogan, congregated at Kettle Falls. Such a mixture of peoples was certain to result in a considerable interchange of goods, and the Sanpoil always brought home a respectable share of these. Parfleches and buffalo robes were obtained from the Spokane; shells and beads, originally from the coast, were supplied by the Methow, Chelan and snəqaie'tkʷ. Miscellaneous articles were received from the other groups. In exchange the Sanpoil gave principally tanned buckskins and dried roots. 226 366 439 476

In recent times the flats between Kettle Falls and Marcus became the scene of intensive trading as a result of the establishment there of a large Hudson's Bay post. The trading between natives retained much of its original character, but the post wanted principally furs, and gave implements, trinkets, clothing and food in return. 366 439

At the mouth of the Okanogan a less intensive but steadier trade was carried on. There was never a great concentration of peoples there; rather it was the activities of small parties travelling up and down the river that was responsible for the existence of this center. It formed a natural meeting point and a base of operations for those from the valley of the Okanogan and those from the upper Columbia. Here, too, a Hudson's Bay post was established.

In Wenatchi territory, at the mouth of the river of the same name, large weir traps were built each summer. The height of the season there was in June. At that time small parties of Sanpoil, perhaps four or five families, arrived in their canoes to remain for a few weeks. Coast Indians also frequented the place, and their presence presented the greatest incentive to the Sanpoil to make the trip, from a trading standpoint. Other peoples to be met there included Chelan, Yakima and Columbia. Much gambling took place, tending to result in an interchange of goods over and above the trading activities. Products brought from home by the Sanpoil for the purpose of trading were buckskins, dried camas and bitterroots, hanks of hemp cord and baskets. They were exchanged for clam shell beads, dentalia, dried salmon and salmon eggs and dried huckleberries. [525]

The outstanding trading post of the lower Columbia at the Dalles was too far from the home of the Sanpoil to be visited often. Venturesome individuals, fond of travelling, sometimes made the long journey, but the economic life of the group was little affected as a result. The Dalles was of considerable indirect importance to the Sanpoil as a point of concentration of coast goods which might reach them by two or three more steps. 366 439 484

Trips organized for the primary object of hunting the buffalo figured in the trading activities as well. These were fairly common after the advent of the horse and the principal acquisition, apart from the buffalo hides and horns, was additional horses. These were not always obtained, however, through the normal procedure of trading. The following illustrative anecdote was related by Burke. 177 224 484 579

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579 Two brothers went to the Blackfoot country afoot. They reached their destination at the fall of darkness and stayed in a cave until morning. At sunrise the older brother approached the Blackfoot camp and secluded himself on a knoll where he could watch the settlement. The best horses were kept near the camp, hobbled. He watched the Blackfoot arise, untie the horses' feet and take them to pasture on a nearby hill. The younger brother was also watching, from above. As soon as the Blackfoot had left the horses and disappeared the two brothers each selected a horse, mounted, and drove the whole band away. After a half day the Blackfoot discovered the loss, but it was too late to recover their property. The brothers successfully reached home with all the horses.

THE HORSE AND ACCOUTREMENTS

178 177 439 484 Horses did not greatly influence the trading activities or manner of life of the Sanpoil. They did make possible a greater amount of travel, but this was still confined, for the most part, within the old accustomed boundaries. Then too, horses were never possessed in very great numbers, especially as compared with peoples to the south, and were recevied relatively late. The date was perhaps 1840. John Tom's mother was still a young woman at the time. She died about 1900 at the age of eighty-five or ninety. The first horses presumably were obtained from the Nez Perce, perhaps by way of the Columbia.

177 492 With the horse came accoutrements such as the saddle and bridle, the plains type of tipi, and the travois of tipi poles. Sick persons and a certain amount of luggage were carried by the travois, but packs were more commonly tied to pack saddles and placed on the backs of the animals. Men for the most part rode bareback, but sometimes used a pillow-like saddle made of rawhide, or hide with the hair turned inward. Padding was of deer, bear or horse hair, concentrated in either end of the saddle. In shape it was rounded and enlarged at the front, elongated at the back. Stitching held the padding in place. The length of the saddle was about twenty inches, the width twelve. A cinch strap made of half-tanned deer hide four inches wide held the saddle in place.

a b

FIG. 18. (a) Method of fastening side board to horn of pack saddle. (b) Frame of woman's saddle.

The woman's saddle (Figure 18, b) was a high pommeled affair made of horn or wood and covered with buckskin. The body of the saddle was about fifteen inches long and four inches deep on either side of the split middle. The pommels rose approximately twelve inches. The buckskin covering was carefully cut and sewed to fit tightly. Saddle skirts with long fringes were used by women.

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177 492 Pack saddles (wusuwa'sxukan) were made of side boards of cottonwood fastened to forks of deer horn at either end (Figure 18, a). The boards were slightly rounded to fit the horse's back and were tapered at the ends. Four holes were bored at either end of the boards. Grooves were cut in the horns at corresponding places and the two were fastened together with rawhide passed through the holes and around the grooves. Packs were carried either on these saddles, or thrown over the horse's back behind the rider's saddle. No holes or loops were provided on the rider's saddle for tying burdens.

Stirrups were made of two pieces of fir. One was steamed and bent to a U shape and (inverted) formed the upper part of the stirrup. The bottom or foot piece was a straight, flat fir strip three or four inches wide and three-quarters of an inch thick. The two parts were held together with a covering of rawhide stitched on while green. Cinch straps of rawhide or braided hemp held the saddle and stirrups in place. Saddle blankets were robes of deer, bear or buffalo hide and possibly matting. The bridle was simply a loop of woven hair from the mane of a horse, passed through the animal's mouth and under its chin and supplied [231] with reins. Horses were tethered with braided or woven ropes of horse hair. The animals were never curried.

CANOES

484 501 Long distance travel was principally by canoe before the acquisition of horses. The Columbia river was navigable, with little portaging, far into Canada. Other rivers that permitted canoe travel without a prohibitive amount of portaging included the Okanogan, the Sanpoil, the Kettle and the Spokane. Travel from one fishing grounds to another resulted in a considerable traffic up and down the Columbia throughout the summer. During the winter the successive ceremonials held at different villages, sometimes far apart, gave rise to extensive travel. Certain villages, and the root digging grounds, were located on the south side of the Columbia river. Communication between these villages and the more populous north side communities, and travel between the homes of the latter and the root grounds, involved a great amount of cross river ferrying. Young adventurers, travelling from one settlement to another, staying a few days at each, constituted another sort of river canoe travel.

FIG. 19. Sharp nosed canoe.

501 Two types of canoe were used by the Sanpoil. One was the shovel nose (sta'łam) (Plate 3, Figures C, D; Plate 2, Figure D), the other had a sharp bow and stern (samuqui't) (Figure 19). In addition rafts were utilized for short trips. Both canoes were of the dug-out variety. The shovel nose was made usually of yellow pine, occasionally of cedar. It was by far the more common. The second type

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
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was made invariably of yellow pine. When pine was used the canoe was built where the log was found, then transported to the river. Cedar logs were obtainable only on the river as driftwood, for large cedar did not grow in Sanpoil territory. Logs were selected which would provide canoes twelve to sixteen feet in length by two and a half to three and a half feet in width. The shovel nose type was very shallow (twelve to sixteen inches deep at the center), the sharp nose was somewhat deeper (eighteen inches). Both canoes were reversible, being linearly symmetrical.

In building a canoe the log first was roughly burned out. The fire was concentrated and intensified with pitchy pine shavings. Great care was taken in the procedure to avoid burning through and to insure evenness. The second process was chipping with a wedge and hammer. The inside was smoothed and the outside shaped by this method. The final finish was given by abrading with coarse granite. The walls of the completed canoe were about one and one-half inches thick, the ends two inches.

The general form of the shovel nose canoe is described by its name. It differed from the usual type in that the prow and stern extended out horizontally at the level of the gunwales for about twenty inches. At the extremity the width was approximately fourteen inches.

The sharp nose type was a more satisfactory canoe than the shovel nose, but it required considerably more effort to build. The ends required tedious shaping which involved increased chipping. They were raised somewhat above the gunwales but separate pieces were never added. The ends were only relatively sharp. From the points they were cut under in an arc with a radius of approximately half the length of the canoe. The bottom was straight. In both this and the preceding type the gunwales were sometimes made thicker than the walls. Pine pitch was heated and run into cracks, or plugged into knot holes. Struts were not used.

Considerable skill was required in the building of a good canoe and the services of men adept at the craft were in demand. At best, however, the products were crude because the available materials, pine and drift logs of cedar, were poorly adapted to canoe construction. Thin walls in a canoe of pine were entirely impractical for cracking immediately would have rendered the vessel useless. Canoes were never painted.

Paddlers knelt or squatted in the canoe. The paddler in the stern guided the craft. Two or three men could carry a twelve foot cedar canoe and four or five a sixteen foot canoe of the same material, but seven or eight men were necessary to carry a canoe of the latter size made of pine. In portaging the canoe was upturned and poles slipped underneath for carrying. Canoes were used only on rivers. Rafts were made for use on lakes. Canoes were bailed with paddles or the hands.

Paddles (u'tc'ltaa) were always of cedar. They were shaped very much like a modern canoe paddle. The length varied from four to six feet. The greatest width of the blade was about five inches, the thickness about two inches. The length of the blade was approximately one-third the total paddle length.

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SNOWSHOES

481 Snowshoes were indispensable to winter travel and hunting. Several distinct types were made, but the varieties were not designed for special snow conditions. The general term for snowshoe was siγi'waχən. A small-meshed shoe used for sliding purposes was called i'tctu. All men possessed snowshoes. Only a portion of the women used them. The ski was unknown.

The most common snowshoe (sinanana'pulən, "magpie's tail") (Figure 20, d) was made of spukumi'lpᵃ, a light strong wood. The frame was made of green wood to permit shaping without cracking. The pole was bent into circular form and the ends fastened together in a long splice wrapped with rawhide. The frame was

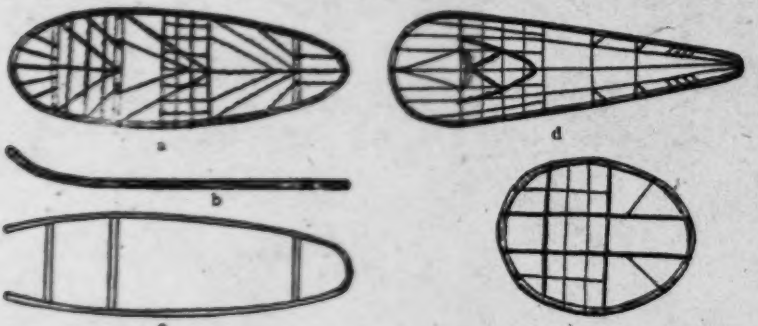

FIG. 20. Snowshoes. (a) Sliding type; (b) side view. (c) Frame of open end type. (d) Common type with foot harness. (e) Oval type.

drawn into its final shape by tying temporary cords from one side to the other. The front portion was permitted to remain semi-circular in shape; the back was drawn together until the sides were almost parallel. The splice was at the extreme rear. These cords were not removed until the wood was entirely dry, after which it would retain its shape.

The frame was strung with two strands of rawhide twisted together. Parallel lengthwise stringing was used in the forward portion of the shoe, and cross stringing in the central part where the harness was attached. In the rear section two heavy wide-spaced cross strings and two lengthwise cords, approximately parallel to the sides, constituted the main strut work. The cross cords to which the harness was attached was four strands thick. The stringing was fastened to the framework by carrying it around, twisting it once on the inside and wrapping it around a second time. The front of the shoe was raised somewhat. The cords were held from slipping by notching the frame and by knotting the string on the inside.

The harness consisted of one wide strap across the toe, fastened to the main cross cord, and a heel and ankle string. The latter was a single cord. One end was fastened to the cross cord on one side a few inches from the frame. From there it was carried through a hole in the center of the toe strap but not drawn tight.

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It was next twisted back on itself for half its length, carried around the heel, and fastened to the cross cord on the opposite side. It was then similarly twisted back and the end attached to the toe strap. 481

This shoe averaged three feet or more in length, twelve inches in width at the front, much less at the back.

The second type of snowshoe was ovoid in shape (Figure 20, e). It was called nɨγɨγo'pa from iɨγ, "round." This was a less satisfactory shoe than the preceding one, but it was more easily made and required less rawhide. In stringing and harness it was similar to the long one.

The sliding snowshoe, i'tctu (Figure 20, a, b, c), was the most complex of all forms. The frame was made of syringa, *Philadelphus Lewisii* Pursh., (wuxwa'-xailpˢ). This shoe was adapted to use as an ordinary snowshoe or for sliding where the snow was crusted. In the latter case a pole was sometimes used as an aid. This pole, called təki'kstən, was of fir, even in diameter and about six feet long. The shoe was made in two varieties. The significant difference was in the form of the frame. One was continuous, an elongated oval (Figure 20, a); the other was closed at the back only and had almost parallel sides turned up at the front (Figure 20, c). Each was made of two pieces of green wood, spliced together either at both ends or (in the second variant) at the back only. These pieces were not left in the round, but worked to a rectangular cross-section, about one-half inch by one and one-half inches. They were arranged to rest on the narrow edges. At the front, which was raised about six inches, the thickness was lessened considerably. During the shaping process the frame was occasionally held over the fire to increase its flexibility. The splices were bound with rawhide. Temporary cords were used here, too, to hold the frame in shape until it dried. [37]

When dry three cross pieces of wood were added, one near the front, one somewhat forward from the middle and one near the back. These were shouldered and fitted into holes bored in the frame at the sides. They were rectangular in section, similar in size to the frame. The forward piece rested on its edge, the other two on their sides. The stringing was of two strand rawhide as in the common showshoe. The forward and back sections were longitudinally strutted. The two central portions were strung in a complex pattern consisting of lengthwise, transverse and diagonal cording. The diagonal cords were fastened to holes bored in the frame and to the center string. Other cords were looped around the frame at the place of attachment but the frame was notched at the bottom so that the cords would not project beyond the running surface.

The harness was fastened to the middle cross piece of wood. It consisted of two cords, one looped around the toe and the other wrapped around the ankle and fastened to the toe loop at the center.

The overall length of this snowshoe varied between two and three feet. The widths at the three wooden cross pieces, from front to back, were respectively five, nine, and four inches. This shoe was used most extensively while hunting.

Toboggans were made from raw deer or bear hide. The hide was held in front of the feet with the hands. Sometimes pine branches were used on crusted snow.

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PACKSTRAP

492 While travelling, burdens were usually carried with the aid of a packstrap or tumpline (lɬki'kan). The central portion of such a strap was made of buckskin or bear hide. To soften the latter it was pounded between rocks. To this central part, which was about a foot long and two and a half inches wide, were sewed long cords of buckskin so that the whole length became eight feet or more. Packstraps woven of Indian hemp were sometimes used. The straps were never decorated.

Men, women and children used straps of the same type. The line was usually passed over the forehead, but sometimes around the chest. There was no sex difference in the matter. Women did not wear basketry caps with tumplines, but often used a bit of padding, such as a piece of fur, under the strap. Men occasionally wore fur caps to protect the forehead.

Travelling packs, such as those carried when journeying south of the Columbia river for the root digging season, consisted of essentials such as fire drills, cooking baskets, digging sticks, horn wedges and dried food. Small bundles were made of these articles, which in turn were wrapped with robes and tule mats, making a long roll. The ends of the packstrap were tied around such a bundle about twelve inches on either side of the middle. The pack rested low on the back. Men's and women's packs were of about the same size. Men sometimes carried deer with the tumpline.

SIGN LANGUAGE

201 Sign language was but weakly developed. It was used to a certain extent as a means of communication between persons speaking unintelligible dialects. Persons who were within sight but out of hearing of each other utilized signs. It also served when it was not desirable to make any sound. A few of the signs are described here:

1. "Yes": nodding the head.
2. "No": shaking the head.
3. "Come": pointing at one's self or motion toward one's self with right hand.
4. "Don't come": motion away from one with right hand.
5. "You": pointing at one.
6. "Look": head turned, eyebrows raised.
7. "Stop": right arm extended forward, palm outward, hand moved from side to side.
8. "Let us meet": two forefingers held vertically together.
9. "Let us go together": right arm stretched upward, index and middle fingers projected and held together.
10. "Sit down": right hand cupped, palm upward, arm lowered.
11. "I can't hear": both arms flexed, palms upward, fingers pointing to sides.

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12. "I don't believe": fore and middle fingers of right hand spread apart, held to mouth, moved to left. 201
13. "Let us be friends": locking two hands together and shaking them.
14. "I am surprised": right hand held over mouth.
15. "Riding a horse": fore and middle fingers of right hand straddling fingers of left hand, middle finger on palm side, motion up and down.
16. "Table": hands spread horizontally, right above left, against chest, then moved outward.
17. "Eat": hands moved as in eating.
18. "Go out (of house)": eyes turned toward door.

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THE CYCLE OF LIFE

BIRTH AND INFANCY

In considering the life of the individual it is necessary to begin with conception, for the actions of the parents during the months prior to birth of a child were considered of major importance in determining the characteristics and fortunes of that child. The mother's conduct was of greater importance than the father's as regarded the child's future, and the majority of the tabus were directed against her, but the father's actions were also considerably circumscribed. The first pregnancy tabus were more strict than those enforced subsequently, or at least they were more rigidly complied with. During the latter months of the first pregnancy a woman's mother usually stayed close by her, encouraging her, acquainting her with customary methods of discharging duties which befell a mother, and making certain that the pregnancy tabus were not broken. Since residence was patrilocal it was necessary for the pregnant woman (sɪtsɪnt́ukui'ltxᵘ) to change temporarily her abode to that of her mother. The husband usually stayed with his own people until shortly before the child's arrival. 843

The period of the first pregnancy was characterized by Burke as one of unhappiness and fear. It seems that the older women, including the mother, repeatedly cautioned the young woman that she would die if any of the multitudinous tabus were broken.[1] In addition to the observance of these tabus, the woman was required to undergo a regular program of physical exercise. This consisted principally of swimming (in cold water), walking, running, and (recently) horseback riding. A pregnant woman was required to get up no later than sunrise and was not allowed to sleep during the daytime. These rules were designed to strengthen the woman in preparation for the ordeal to come. 152 861 843

There was no tabu against quarreling, but care had to be taken about insulting another or incurring his ill will for fear he might have power to inflict malfortune upon the child. The woman was required to eat only lightly during pregnancy, else her health would be impaired, the child's head would be large and delivery difficult. Specific food tabus usually applied both to a woman and her husband. Some of these follow: Speckled trout was prohibited; if eaten the child would cry a great deal and shake like a trout. Rabbit was not to be eaten; if it were the child would have weak legs. The flesh of the hawk and eagle or anything killed by those birds were tabu; if the tabu were broken the child would have cramps. If pheasant were eaten the child would cry until out of breath, then have convulsions. Meat in general was not eaten for an indefinite period preceding childbirth, and at no time during pregnancy was any meat eaten which was not strictly fresh. Eating of the fool hen was prohibited; else the child would be foolish. 262 [578] 843

Tabus other than those relating to food were of various natures. A pregnant woman was permitted to attend funerals, but not to look at the corpse. If she did her child would be cross-eyed and open-mouthed, like the corpse. She was not allowed to go near any thing that had been recently killed, and had carefully to 784 843

[1] Burke knew of only one woman that had actually died during childbirth.

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784 avoid stepping over blood; failure to observe these rules would not affect the child
but would impair the father's luck in any venture. Restrictions applying to both
843 the woman and her husband included these: A rattlesnake must not be killed or
the child would cry and writhe like a rattlesnake. It might turn green and swell
up. Crossing an otter's track would result in the child's "crawling" like an otter
and taking very long to learn to walk. If a horse were lassoed or any animal
tied or roped the child would become entangled with its cord during delivery.
Sarcasm or arrogant retort on the part of either parent would result in the child's
being ill tempered and impudent. To distort the features would cause the child
to have features permanently disarranged in a similar manner. Holding the breath
would make the child unable to breathe when born. To beat an animal would
cause pain and injury to the child. There was no restriction on smoking.

755 A man took care not to laugh at old or crippled persons while his wife was
843 pregnant for fear the baby would be crippled. He was especially circumspect in
his speech when a shaman was near for if he were critical, insulting, boastful or
facetious at such a time the baby would probably never be born and the woman
would die.

Some shamans were reputed to be able to determine the sex of a child before
birth. They charged in advance for giving such information. It was only neces-
sary to look at the woman's back to make the determination.

755 Barren women sometimes enlisted the services of a shaman. This was only
842 done at one of the winter dances. The shaman seated the woman before the center
pole, sat down in front of her and held one end of a short section of service berry
limb on her head. He soon told her why she was childless and whether or not she
would bear children thereafter.

844 The pregnant woman did not isolate herself until the labor pains appeared.
She then retired to the menstrual hut or a partitioned off part of the house. An
old woman usually accompanied her. The professional mid-wife was unknown.
The woman who assisted received no compensation for her services. In prepara-
tion for delivery (stukwi'ltx^{w}) two stakes were driven into the ground about eight-
een or twenty inches apart and about two feet high. When the labor pains became
frequent and severe the woman kneeled on the ground, placing one knee against
each stake and grasping the tops of the stakes with her hands. There was no
attempt to give relief to the woman during labor. The assistant covered the ground
with bunch grass or laid down a tule mat for the child to be delivered upon. When
delivery was obviously near at hand she rubbed the woman's abdomen with down-
ward motions, gave her hot water to drink, heated pine needles and held them
against her abdoman, and gave her advice as to the proper muscular tensions for
the best results. When not otherwise occupied, and during actual delivery, the
helper kneeled behind the woman and pulled down on her shoulders. As soon as
expulsion was complete the assistant tied the umbilical cord (ti'mus) tightly with
deer sinew four or five inches from the baby's body. She then bit it off at that
point. Rupture was considered more possible if the cord were cut shorter. The
child was immediately immersed in a basket of cool water and rubbed vigorously.

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844

This stimulation started the child's breathing and the washing cleansed it. The face of the infant was then massaged to "smooth out ugly lines" and improve the features. The legs were rubbed to straighten them so that the child would not be bow-legged. The arms were similarly rubbed. Then the infant was wrapped in buckskin or coyote fur and the head was bound with buckskin to insure roundness and eliminate the distortion accompanying birth. Flattening was never practiced. This completed the immediate attention given the child. It was then laid on its back on a pile of bedding; occasionally it was turned from one side to the other.

844 846

The mother was given a decoction of herbs immediately after delivery to prevent excess bleeding. As soon as the after-birth (untuxsi'ltan) was eliminated it was completely disposed of by burying. It was never burned. The mother went to bed where she remained for several hours. During this time absorbents (grass, shredded bark) were used to care for the bleeding. These were later burned. After a maximum of one day's complete rest the mother took charge of the child, but continued to lie down when not engaged in that care.

847

A woman occasionally went off alone into the woods and bore her child without assistance. Although such action probably often was traceable to timidity alone, ulterior motives were sometimes involved. If the woman did not want the child she was about to bear, this seclusion gave her an opportunity to return to camp with the baby dead and declare that it had been born dead. If this were not true and the facts were discovered the woman was subjected to severe lashing upon order of the chief. Nevertheless, Burke declared, such methods of controlling family size were occasionally resorted to.

755 845

A shaman was called at the time of childbirth only when delivery could not be accomplished normally. In such a case any shaman could function, for the procedure was not specialized, but certain shamans had specific talents of this nature.[2] No objective measures were taken; the shaman did not touch the patient. He attempted to discover the cause of the difficulty as in any case of illness and treat it accordingly.[3]

843

In the event of a miscarriage the fetus was buried immediately.

846

Certain post-natal observances were incumbent upon the father if the welfare of the child were to be protected. These had to be discharged very shortly after the infant's arrival. The usual procedure involved catching a dog or horse and beating it severely, or riding the horse until it was exhausted and frothed at the mouth. If neither animal were available the father himself ran until he could go no farther. If thus custom were not observed the child would cry a great deal, be irritable and have convulsions. Except at this time, however, the parent dared not kill any animal by beating it until the child was several weeks old, or the child would be ill-affected rather than benefited. If either parent threw deer sinew or feathers into a fire the baby would have cramps and convulsions, "writhing like the burning feathers or sinew."

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[2] See page 102.
[3] See page 204 f.

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159 Burke was once fishing with Johnny Herman (sxoxomi'x). Herman dipped
753 up a muskrat with his net. He killed it with the blow of a club. The next day
846 the head and face of his newly born infant swelled up so much that it was unable to open its eyes. Herman painted the child's face with red paint applied with a skunk tail brush. The eyebrows, cheeks and upper and lower lips were covered with paint. The child very soon returned to normal.

The above anecdote illustrates one of the methods used to counteract the effects resulting from non-observance of post-natal customs or breaking of tabus connected with the child. Another remedy was to build a smudge and hold the baby over it, allowing it to inhale some of the smoke.

784 For a week after the child's arrival the mother spent most of the time resting
846 and avoided hard work for at least a month. During the first week she was not allowed to do any cooking for the food would be contaminated because she was still losing blood. She was not permitted to pass in front of any man at close range but she could walk directly behind. She must not stay so near a fire that she would perspire (a precaution against hemorrhage). For ten days she ate no meat. Twice each day for a month the mother drank a tonic (enukutkutunawi'ux-ten). This was to assist her in regaining her strength and to insure against contraction of tuberculosis which was supposed often to start with childbirth. For a month she did not bathe and slept apart from her husband. At the end of that of that period she bathed thoroughly and took up once more the normal routine of life, modified of course by the presence of the new child. An informal feast followed the birth of the first child.[4]

From the time of birth to ten days of age the child was kept wrapped tightly with the arms at the sides and the legs extended. The head binding continued for a like period. During the daytime the child lay on its mother's bedding; at night it slept beside her. Whenever the child cried it was nursed. If it cried excessively red pigment mixed with grease was applied to its face with the tail of a skunk, as above. Or the dried heart of a fool hen was sewed inside a buckskin bag and fastened to the child's wrappings at the shoulder or near the back of the head. The fool hen was considered a model of silence. The skunk's tail used for painting was likewise fastened to the wrappings and later to the cradle.

753 If the mother's milk failed to flow she was given hot soups or broths made from meat or fowl, and pine needles were heated and placed on her breasts. If the appearance of the milk was retarded for any length of time some other woman acted temporarily as wet nurse. The child was returned to its mother as soon as she was able to nourish it prpperly. When a baby's mother died at the time of its birth it was taken by some woman, not necessarily a relative, who could nurse it. The adoption was for the nursing period only. At the end of that time it was returned to the grandparents. Children were nursed for an average of perhaps two years. The child was not always removed from the cradle for nursing.

848 Permanent relinquishment shortly after birth of a child born out of wedlock was the usual solution for such a situation. Any married woman in the group was

[4] See page 141.

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privileged to take the infant if its mother did not care to keep it. No attempt was made to keep the child in ignorance of its real parentage. "There were too many old women who were fond of gossiping to make concealment possible." (Burke) The child was granted the right to return to its true mother if it so desired. Married couples who were childless sometimes adopted children from a large family among their relatives. 521 848

If an infant urinated too frequently it was made to urinate on a piece of granitic schist which had been heated over the fire. This treatment was usually successful, but if not, gopher manure was rubbed on the buttocks and the abdomen. Another alternative was to clean and cook a mouse and feed it to the child if it were old enough to eat. Still another method was to break open a puff-ball and rub it on the buttocks. A baby's excrement was always deposited in the same place, a hole in the ground. If this were not done the child would become mischievous and later refuse to obey. Diapers were pieces of buckskin. They were washed and used repeatedly. Sometimes they were lined with grass. 854

Illnesses in very young infants were usually attributed to the breaking of a tabu by one of the parents. In cases of serious illness a shaman might be called to discover the cause. The child was said to have been "brought to life" when the specific manner in which the parent had erred was ascertained. Minor illnesses such as colic and colds were treated by decoctions of herbs. Some of these medicines were used only for children, others were the same as those given adults, but weaker.[5] In giving medicine to a baby a three or four inch section of grass with a hollow stem, such as scouring rush, was used. The tube was dipped into the medicine, the upper end squeezed shut, then removed and placed in the infant's mouth and opened. For sore eyes or plugged nostrils the mother squeezed some of her milk into the ailing part. 753 757 784 854

Great care was taken not to lose the navel cord when it parted from the child's body. "It is part of a person and shouldn't be lost." (Burke) It was kept on the cradle until the latter was discarded, whereupon it was removed and buried or thrown away somewhere in the hills. Loss prior to that time would result in ill-fortune to the child. 846

No unusual treatment was accorded twins. 845

THE CRADLE BOARD

As soon as possible after the birth of a child the mother made a cradle board for the infant. This was not normally done before the child's appearance. Occasionally some male relative of the mother relieved her of this task. During the interim the baby was simply wrapped in a skin, preferably a finely tanned fawn skin. Or the bag in which the baby was to be kept at night was made and used exclusively until the cradle board was completed. Sometimes this garment was made before the baby's birth. The age of transference to the cradle board varied from ten days to a month. 854

[5] See pages 215 f.

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The cradle bag or night bag (khu'ɣtsa) was made in two forms. The first was fashioned from two pieces of buckskin, one ovoid forming the back, the other a narrow band equal in length to the perimeter of the back. The ends of the band were sewed together and one edge of it sewed to the periphery of the ovoid piece, with the seam at the bottom (narrow end). Thin strips of buckskin were used for sewing. Loops were provided along the lower portions of each free side of the front piece so that a buckskin thong could be passed alternately through them to draw the bag together. The other bag was made of a single piece of buckskin roughly triangular in form. It resembled somewhat a center seam moccasin, except that the actual seam extended for only a short distance and the remainder was looped for lacing. The top was left open. Neither bag was provided with carrying straps. Skin other than that of the deer was sometimes used for these bags, such as coyote skin. The child was kept in the bag at night until about a year of age. 854

The cradle board (moɣwa'l') (Plate 1, Figure B) was the same for either a girl or a boy. It was used until the child was able to walk. Subsequent to that time it was used only while travelling or when the child wished to sleep in the daytime. During the early months of life the infant was removed from the cradle only to be bathed, changed, and at night. Except in rare instances a board was used for only one child. When no longer in use it was usually buried. If an infant died while still using its cradle it was sometimes, though not always, buried with it.

Cradle boards were usually made of cedar. Poorer ones were of pine. The body of the board was sometimes trapezoidal with the longer parallel side at the top, but more often roughly oval with the narrower part at the bottom. A knob or handle usually projected from the middle of the board at the top, and sometimes two legs from the bottom. The handle was carved in various shapes, but most commonly was triangular or circular. In some cradles there was no projecting handle but an oblong hole in the top of the board. Sometimes the whole board was covered with buckskin but often only the bag was of that material. Holes were bored to take the stay strings of the hoop and for attaching the bag. A large hoop of willow or service berry limb was hinged with buckskin to each side of the board at a point where it would rise above the baby's head. Two buckskin thongs extending from the hoop to the foot and to the handle of the board held the hoop in position. These could be untied at the foot and the hoop lowered when the child was to be removed. Buckskin carrying straps were fastened to the back of the board. The bag or pouch was always made of buckskin. It was not a true bag in that its back was formed by the board itself. A long narrow rectangular strip of buckskin was sewed together at the ends and fastened to the board by placing it on edge in the shape desired and securing it to the board through the holes previously drilled. Sometimes the pouch was made double thickness. Holes were pierced along the edge of the opening and a strip of buckskin inserted to provide loops so that the bag might be laced tight. A triangular wooden piece was fitted inside the bag at the head, with the base at right angles to the board. It was fastened here with two thongs through holes in the board and one or two extending from the apex to the head of the board. It was more or less adjustable 304 854

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but it was not designed to produce flattening. Its sole purpose was to hold the head of the bag open. 304 854

The bag was carefully padded with grass or fur before the child was placed in it. Especial care was taken to pad carefully around the head and between the legs. Grasses which emitted a fragrant odor (kăl'n, mukuktki'n, found on the river bank) were used if obtainable. Woven cradle bedding of Indian hemp was also used. This was easy to wash and dry. Sometimes the child was dressed in miniature garments patterned like those of an adult before placing in the cradle. During cold weather the infant's head was wrapped with a piece of fur or buckskin to protect it. The hoop on the cradle served the double purpose of protecting the child in case of a fall, and holding away from the baby's face any robe laid over the cradle to keep off the sun or to supply warmth. A boy's penis was allowed to project through the lacing of the bag. A small flap of buckskin extended from between a girl's legs to outside the bag. Conduits were never used. 854

Another form of cradle less extensively used substituted for the board an elliptical frame like that of a snowshoe, within which was woven Indian hemp cord with a quarter inch mesh. The baby was wrapped in coyote fur and bound to the center of the cradle with thongs passing around the child and through the openings in the weaving. It is not certain that this cradle was supplied with a hoop. Cradles of tule are mentioned in the mythology but were not known to my informants.

As stated previously the bag containing the child's umbilical cord and its skunk tail paint brush were always attached to the cradle. In addition many other pendants were added both for decoration and for amusing the child. The skunk tail usually had suspended from it two buckskin cords each carrying several river shells. Other shells hanging from cords were fastened to the shoulders of the cradle bag. Three or four strings holding several shells each were bunched together so that they would rattle when the cradle was shaken. Shells were also attached to the hoop of the cradle, all along its length. Each was suspended by a single short string. The hoop stay strings served, too, as places of attachment. Oblong pieces of shell with holes drilled in each end were sewed to the bag at various places with the inside of the shell exposed. Sometimes other shapes, such as arrow heads, were made. A father who was a successful deer hunter might hang deer dew claws on his child's cradle. In addition to the rattles placed on the cradle wristlets of shells which rattled were worn by the baby. On the right was hung a large shell on a long cord for the child to suck. 524 854

The handle of the cradle was used in picking it up and moving it from place to place. Also, when the child was fretful the cradle was rocked with the handle, pivoting the base on the ground, or the cradle was bounced on the ground. In travelling the mother carried the cradle on her back by means of a tumpline. 854

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CHILDHOOD

553 At some time between a month and a year of age a child received a name.
851 This name was usually that of a comparatively recently deceased relative. It was conferred by an elderly person, a kin of the child. Grandparents very often functioned in this matter. It was upon the invitation of the child's parents that the name was given. No compensation was made for the service. Parents seldom named their own offspring. The name received at this early age might in theory be retained throughout life, but in practice this was seldom the case. Almost every individual acquired at least one more name later in life.[6]

304 During the first ten years of life, usually quite early, the ears of a child were
855 pierced for receiving earrings. This applied to both sexes. From one to eight holes were punctured. If only one or two were made they were in the lobe; if more, the periphery of the ear was utilized. Thorns from the hawthorn were used in making the holes. The thorn was cut off on either side of the ear, leaving a part in to keep the hole open. No feast or ceremony was held in this connection.

855 A child's deciduous teeth were allowed to fall out; at least they were not
961 pulled out by parents. A child was cautioned not to put its tongue or finger in the cavity or the new tooth would appear at a different place.

Children who cried a great deal were told that they would be carried off by Owl or Bobwhite and eaten. These birds came with big baskets in which they gathered children for food, it was said, selecting the children that were heard crying. Disobedient children were threatened with ghosts, but masks were not used to scare them.

Corporal punishment was almost never resorted to by parents, but formalized whipping by old men was common. Upon the infraction of a minor rule of conduct by one child not only the offender was punished but all other children of the community too. The parents of the erring child called in an old man who ordered the children in the house to lie, face down, on a blanket in the middle of the room. They were given a few light blows with a whip made of several sage brush or willow limbs tied together. He then visited all other houses nearby and repeated the performance. In any one community the same old man was usually called upon to function in this wise. He was not compensated.

When a child was guilty of serious misconduct it was told that "the old man from up the river" was coming down. The parents secretly notified the old man that locally acted as disciplinarian, who soon appeared disguised and wearing a large robe. He removed the robe, grasped his switches and commanded that the child lie down. The parents urged the child to "lie down before the switches became too coarse." This time the whipping was much more severe. If the child cried it was lashed more. When the old man finished and was preparing to leave he said to the child, "Now if you are not good the other man from up the river will come down and he is much stronger than I am. He'll whip you harder."

There was no yearly whipping ceremony.

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[6] See pages 113-14.

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Children were very little restricted in their actions. The rules of conduct, the violation of which would result in punishment, were not numerous. Most of them were designed to protect the tranquility of the home and the complacency of the older persons. Children were not allowed to bring their toys or rocks and sticks into the house or to play in the house. Persons who were elderly or sick were not to be annoyed. Visitors were to be respected. When a shaman was present, especially if practicing, all children were required to remain unobtrusive and quiet. Stealing or deliberate destruction of property were other serious offenses. Fighting between children was frowned upon. 524 955 955 861

Parents continually reproached children for causing minor annoyances but the latter soon became negatively adapted to such railery, especially since the threats were seldom carried out. Grandparents customarily defended children and seldom criticized them. They petted them and played with them more than their parents. As a result children were often, (usually, Covington said), more fond of their grandparents than of their parents. The oldest child and youngest child of a family were often somewhat favored. They were not, however, considered brighter or stronger. 593 955

Recently children have been teased on their birthdays. Older persons threw water on them and annoyed them in various other ways. [527]

Children ate their meals with their parents except when strangers were present, in which case they were served later. The members of the family did not seat themselves around the food mat in any given order, but since the mother served the children they usually sat near her. Children were forbidden to eat marrow from the bones of a deer under penalty of becoming weak and unable to run uphill. They were given meat from the part of an animal which had been pierced by the arrow so that they would become strong and be able to withstand wounds. The part of a fish pierced by a spear was also given the children for the same reason.

The physical development of children was closely watched. Each morning, summer and winter, they were required to get up at sunrise and immediately run to the river and bathe, plunging in several times. In addition to this daily bath they were held to a rigorous program of swimming, which was considered of utmost importance in the development of a strong body and the establishment of immunity to disease. Cold water was thought to be more beneficial than warm. Children were taught to swim far out into the swift currents of the river. Besides generally developing the body this insured against drowning in the event of capsizing a canoe. Running was emphasized second only to swimming. The two were often combined. A child was told to run as far as possible after finishing his swim. Running, particularly uphill, while holding the breath as long as possible, was repeatedly practiced. 515 956 868

Children were expected, though not required, to regularly discharge certain duties while yet quite young. Boys helped in carrying packs when travelling and accompanied the men on hunting and fishing expeditions where they looked after the dogs and performed other odd chores. Young girls assisted their mothers in digging roots and picking berries, or were sent out alone to perform such tasks. 462 857

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462 At home there were numerous bits of work to occupy their attention. The tech-
957 niques of basket making were learned through observation during these years but the average girl did not begin practical training at such work until near adolescence.

577 The mental and moral development of the child was no less jealously attended.
861 During the formative years instruction and advice were constantly given by the old men and women concerning the customs, mores and traditions of the people. There was ample opportunity during the long winter evenings to drill the children in the material of which an intimate knowledge was necessary for a well educated and oriented individual; and to impress upon them the ideals of their people. They learned at such times, too, the lore of their fathers. The myths and legends were not customarily told to the children, but were recited in their presence. Also, in the winter time it was often difficult to sleep during the bitterly cold hours of the early morning. Such waking hours were commonly spent in giving advice and instruction to the younger members of the family. John Tom succinctly summarized the teachings and ideals:

"Children should always take great care to follow the advice given by their elders so that they might not die young. They should preserve all the food that they obtain, wasting none, for that is their body. They should be kind and speak ill—pierce the heart—of no one. Much pains should be taken to keep clean. No morning should pass without bathing. All bad habits — lying, stealing, even in hard straits—should be carefully avoided. And never should any of the customs of the people be broken or disregarded."

852 The first game and the first fish caught by a boy were the occasion for feasts.
861 The first roots and the first fruits gathered by a girl were recognized by similar celebrations. A few guests were invited, principally relatives, but the feast was not an elaborate one. At the boy's ceremony the men officiated; at the girl's the women were in charge. The feast included that which had been obtained by the child. The child was present, but was not permitted to partake of any of the food. Old men or women spoke to the child, urging hard work so that great success might be achieved as an adult. No presents were distributed.

The first deer killed by a boy or young man was disposed of in a somewhat different manner. The father of the boy cut the animal into a sufficient number of pieces so that one piece could be given to each lodge in the village. None was kept by the boy or his family. The boy was, however, allowed to keep the hide, which was made into a shirt for him. If he ate any of the meat he would acquire a compulsion for biting his fingers. Also, he would never again be able to kill a deer.

PUBERTY

98/ For a ten-day period at puberty (sləkxo'mxa) but not necessarily coincidental with the first menses, a girl was isolated from the rest of the community.[7] During this time she occupied a small mat hut a short distance from the settlement,

[7]Burke said that these observances took place at about sixteen years of age, "when white spots appeared on the face."

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preferably in the woods or hills. She wore her oldest clothes and dressed her hair in a special manner. Each side braid was rolled up and tied at the level of her ears with Indian hemp cord. It was not combed during the period. In her hair she carried a small sharpened stick with which she scratched her head and face. Touching those parts with the hands during the period of the rite was forbidden. 881

Each morning before daylight and each night just after dark the girl ran about the nearby hills. These hours were selected because the girl was not supposed to be seen by anyone during the period of isolation. Upon reaching the top of each knoll she imitated the cry of the hermit owl. During the day she remained closely secluded. Her meals were brought to her by a sister or her mother. She did no work during the time. At the termination of the period she let down her hair and called for her best clothes. Her old ones were discarded and the good ones assumed before returning to camp. From this time on she always wore adult attire.

During the puberty observances, especially while running about the hills, guardian spirits were often obtained. This was the last opportunity for getting a spirit; only very rarely did a person have such an experience after puberty. However, such was not the ostensible purpose of the morning and evening excursions. 787 881

A boy was subjected to a rigorous program of exercise, principally swimming and running, at puberty, but no true ceremony was observed. A concentrated effort was made at this time to obtain a guardian spirit if success had not been achieved earlier, for as was true of a girl, the ability to achieve a spirit was gone after puberty. Sometimes the usual one night vigils were extended to periods of three or four days in this last desperate attempt. Fasting was required for the duration of the stay, no matter what the length.

Beginning with the first menstrual period at puberty a girl was secluded during each occurrence of the menses (smilumi'lxutan) in a small hut of tule mats somewhat removed from the main camp. The hut, similar to the one occupied during the puberty observances, was built by the woman who occupied it. A virtual fast was observed during the menstrual period. It was felt that food would interfere with the proper flow of the menses and result in illness. While in the hut the woman passed the time by weaving, sewing and other such tasks. She was seen only by her mother or some elderly woman, who periodically called to attend to her needs. If she had been seen by others, or if she had remained in a house occupied by others, she would have been ashamed. Moreover, the luck of any men in her presence would have been ill-affected. When menstrdation ceased the woman prepared to return to the main camp. At night or very early in the morning, in the company of the mother or old woman, she bathed thoroughly in a stream or lake, whereupon she resumed her place in the family house. However, if anyone were ill in that house she went rather to some other house, that of a relative or friend, where she remained until the person recovered. 262 841 881

The existence of a multitude of tabus designed to keep the menstruating woman (sku'lxutcu'tx) from contaminating other people and things argues 784 841

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against too literal acceptance of the declaration that menstruating women were always isolated. Not only were there tabus but there were remedies in case the tabus were broken. A menstruating woman was not permitted to cook food or touch the food of others. She was forbidden to walk around the head of a bed. Yet in the menstrual hut there would have been no opportunity for such actions. Women were not allowed to take water from streams in which fish traps were located for fear a menstruating woman might be among their numbers.[8] A deer was not carried through the door of a hunting lodge since blood from a menstruating woman might have dropped in the doorway.[9] A weapon became useless if game killed with it were shared by a woman during menstruation (as mentioned above, a fast was supposed to be observed during this time); or if she stepped over or touched a weapon it was likewise affected. But there was a remedy. The weapon was rubbed thoroughly with the green leaves of the coyote mint, *Monardella odoratissima* Benth., (sp'kanu'sistan, "spear-rubbing plant"), whereupon it became as efficient as ever. Many other examples of the nature of these are to be found in connection with the activities which were affected.

Indeed, much of the ill that befell the people was attributed to the breaking of menstrual tabus.

MARRIAGE

COURTSHIP

Although girls were carefully watched during adolescence, and private meetings between the sexes were frowned upon, there was nevertheless a considerable amount of true courtship. When clandestine meetings were arranged the flageolet was used by the man for signalling his presence and later for amusing his sweetheart. A certain pre-arranged note was the signal. A flageolet was also played by one lonesome for companionship of the opposite sex.

The flageolet was made of bone or of a branch of the blue elderberry, *Sambucus coerulea* Raf., (tsukwi'k^{w}). The wooden flageolet was about fourteen inches long and three-quarters of an inch in diameter. The pith was removed, the ends left open and six holes provided. Buckskin bands were wrapped around the flageolet at each end of the slot, making the size of that opening adjustable. The flageolet, curiously, was not only carried as an instrument for making love but also as a protective weapon. It was of convenient size for use as a club.

Certain traditional songs, or tunes, were used in love making. Words were supplied as suited the occasion. They were usually sung by the boy to the girl. Two typical songs of this nature follow:

a···yayawawintu···'
(meaningless?)

wai···kwmxaminaka···(etc., repeated)
I love you

[8] Cf. pages 70-71.
[9] See page 91.

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533
832

wa'ī' kwuqami'nk' ali·'
I love you because

ksui'nomt'x^{a} wumi'x^{a}
You are pretty surely

in·tixu'pitx^{a} i·'s pu'u's.
Win my heart.

539
584
832

When a young man desired to marry a certain girl he often attempted to impress her and her parents by feats of valor, athletic prowess, or by leading a successful hunting expedition. Burke related the following anecdote:

A certain beautiful girl was the object of many men's affections but she was not interested in any of them. One winter morning one of the young men mounted his black horse, rode it out onto the ice at the edge of the river, reached the edge and dived in with his horse. The two of them swam under the floating ice all the way across and came up on the opposite shore. Then he came back to camp. All of the people had seen what he had done. The girl was among them. The young man rode up to her and held out his hand. She took it, jumped on the horse with him and rode off. No one objected. They were married.

587
832

Supernatural assistance was sometimes solicited by one attempting to gain the affections of another. This practice was more or less restricted to persons (of either sex) who were seeking a second mate. "Young people were not supposed to know such things." The procedure follows: The heart of a pigeon was dried, pulverized and mixed together with the tip of a branch of yellow pine, also dried and pulverized. Then once just at sunset and again at sunrise on the following day the individual went to the river and bathed. Following each bath the mixture was rubbed on the cheeks, eyebrows, in a band across the forehead and on the shoulders. Some was mixed with water in the mouth and blown over the arms. Following this a prayer was uttered: "pata'x, (the concoction) I want your help. I want to marry this person (the name was given). You can help me do it. You can make her (him) think of me. I depend upon you." This method was considered infallible. The person named was overcome with longing for the one who had performed the rite. When the two met they immediately married.

Prayers for help in love were also addressed to the sweat lodge and to the bear, when one had been killed.[10]

834

It was mentioned above that unmarried girls were carefully watched. They were never permitted to go alone to pick berries or dig roots. An older woman was always present. Exposure, in the presence of men, of any part of the body normally covered by clothing, was carefully avoided. Women always rose before the men and went to bed after they did. This was done to eliminate the possibility of a woman's clothing becoming disarranged while men were still about.[11]

A practice known as samamtu·'lix was related by Burke. When parents were determined that a girl should not have any illicit affairs or marry before complete maturity (about twenty-five, Burke thought) she was subjected to an ex-

[10] See pages 84, 179
[11] Cf. page 90.

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tremely rigid program of supervision and concealment. Subsequent to puberty she was never allowed to leave the family house unless accompanied by an older woman, and only then when absolutely necessary. She was supposed to be seen by none but members of her own household, so for exercise she was permitted to go out only before daylight or after dark, always accompanied. During the day she was engaged in domestic pursuits such as cooking and basket making. Outdoor pursuits such as berry picking and root digging were unknown to her. When her parents felt that the proper time had arrived they arranged for her marriage and she terminated her seclusion. She was more respected, Burke said, and made a more desirable wife than a girl whose conduct had not been so circumscribed. 834

I was unable to obtain a native expression of the significance of this custom. Burke learned of it from his aunt; he had not seen it in practice. She had told him that it occurred "every once in a while." The actual concealment could hardly have been as rigidly carried out as the above account indicates. The amount of travel, the frequent change of residence and the amount of visiting indulged in by the Sanpoil would have rendered very difficult the carrying out to the letter of such a program. It is difficult to imagine what might have been the motives of the parents who carried out such a scheme. In a culture where class distinctions were marked one might expect the upper classes to protect their girls in such a manner for the sake of the family name, but where equality was emphasized to the degree that it was by the Sanpoil, such a motive could play no part in an acceptable explanation. Possibly an explanation which placed major emphasis upon the early sexual experiences of the individual's parents would come near the truth. The tabus surrounding the actions of an unmarried woman among the Wishram[12] should be considered in this connection. There a purely cultural explanation is probably adequate, but it must be noted that the application of the restrictions by the Wishram was universal, not limited to certain woman only.

MARRIAGE

Boys usually married at about eighteen years of age, sometimes younger. Girls married at various ages between puberty and twenty. Marriages between persons of considerably different ages were not uncommon. 582

Infant betrothals (sntu'ɣsamtcut) occurred rarely. Usually only persons holding places of prestige in the group troubled to make such arrangements. They ordinarily were negotiated by the fathers of the persons concerned. The contracts amounted to little more than informal agreements between friends. The boy's father offered to give certain definite presents to the father of the girl, but these were not delivered until the marriage was consummated. In the meantime the agreement might be broken by either party if for any reason its continuation was not desirable. [584]

There were no restrictions as to the group from which a mate was to be selected. Marriage within the group was probably more common than marriage outside, but not preponderantly so. Outside marriages were not considered more

[12]Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, page 216.

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582 desirable than marriage at home. Unions between persons speaking unintelligible dialects seldom occurred for very few persons were bi-lingual. John Tom estimated that in seven out of ten marriages both parties were Sanpoil, whereas in the remaining thirty per cent either the man or the woman might be foreign. He suggested that the bulk of the intermarriage was with the Columbia. Examination of specific information incidentally obtained for a few cases reveals a slight tendency in the opposite direction. Intermarriage occurred in eleven out of the twenty-one cases. These data, however, are for relatively recent times when intercourse had been artificially stimulated by the presence of whites, and includes two marriages of Sanpoil women to whites. For pre-white times Tom's estimate is probably fairly accurate. Of the twenty-one cases recorded three of the unions were between Sanpoil and Columbia but no other outside native group appears more than once. This despite the fact that the Columbia dialect was more unlike Sanpoil than any of the other adjoining dialects. If these cases are representative, Sanpoil men marry foreign women more often than the reverse. In two instances only, Sanpoil women married natives of the other groups. The data follow:

	SANPOIL MALES	MARRIED TO	
1.	William Burke, t̓uqwanmɪnsta'skət, (son of 20) (first marriage)	qwepi·'tsa,	(Sanpoil)
2.	do (second marriage)	si'qampi·,	(Coeur d'Alene and Kalispel)
3.	Jim James, wuɪui·'tsa, (son of 4)	skɪ·ya'lks,	(Sanpoil)
4.	q̓wɪlxalq̓a'ya	qaxpi·'tsa,	(sanəq̓aie'tk[w])
5.	Cultus Charley, kahwe'tckɪn	(?)	(Wenatchi)
6.	wəlskuma'utckən, (son of 5)	kwɪstəpi'tsa,	(Sanpoil)
7.	Bob Covington, kwɪ'a'xən	ki'kaimi'tsa,	(Columbia)
8.	Bear, skɪmxi·'st, (first marriage)	su'kutá'lks,	(Sanpoil)
9.	do (second marriage)	qwɪkwimá'lks,	(Columbia and Nespelem)
10.	do (third marriage)	Nancy,	(Sanpoil)
11.	tau·tau·ku'sum	swimtí'tk[w],	(Sanpoil)
12.	kwɪkwita'skat	qwɪnxa'tsa,	(Columbia)
13.	John Tom, xwi'wi'lx[w][13] (2nd marriage)	spukula'lks,	(Sanpoil)
14.	do (3rd marriage)	(?)	(Columbia)
15.	ax'ntaku'sam, (son of 13)	wɪlɪmɪ·'tk[w],	(Sanpoil)
16.	Joe Monahan	qwənlpi'tsa,	(Sanpoil)
17.	wəlwəlstu'lx[w], (son of 18)	q̓a·má'lks,	(Sanpoil)

	SANPOIL FEMALES	MARRIED TO	
18.	sq̓ɪamt·a·'lqs	su·γi'mpt,	(Similkameen)
19.	qwənxupi'tsa	kwɪlt'ni'nak,	(Columbia)
20.	Mary Susan, taxli·'t'	Burke,	(white)
21.	si'nəmɪk[w]	?	(white)

[13]Other names of John Tom are given on page 114.

584 Chiefs' sons were not restricted in the selection of mates to the daughters of other chiefs. Such an idea would have been utterly foreign to Sanpoil principles. There was some tendency for the sons of chiefs, shamans and others of achievement to marry daughters of men of like standing, but this was not the result of formal rule or tradition. Parents were always anxious to arrange the most desir-
581 able marriage possible for a son or daughter. This meant that moral character,
584 ambition, ability and physical appearance were all taken into consideration. However, since reciprocal presents formed an integral part of the marriage complex, families of like economic status were more often united than those of markedly different resources. On the other hand it was not uncommon for the son of an idler, by virtue of his own achievements, to marry into a highly respected family.

684 Blood relatives, even as far as cousins three generations removed, were not
835 permitted to marry. If this rule were broken and the fact were discovered, the parties were separated and punished by lashing. Such action was taken by the chief. Relatives of the offending persons sometimes killed the horses or stole the goods of the couple as indication of their disapproval.

584 Marriages were always arranged by parents but the persons involved were usually consulted. The boy in many cases was the instigator of the negotiations. Upon developing a desire for a certain girl he confided in his parents and requested that they see the girl's parents in his behalf. More often, perhaps, the parents selected a girl and then sought their son's approval of the choice. Occasionally the boy's wishes were not considered at all or were overruled. Boys and girls totally unknown to each other were sometimes united. It was not conventionally possible for a girl or a girl's parents to take the initiative in marriage proposals. The girl only was permitted to express her approval or disapproval after negotiations had been formally opened by the visit of an emissary from the boy to her parents. If they approved of the proposal they usually communicated the request and expressed their feelings to their daughter. The latter was then given an opportunity to declare her wishes.

The first emissary was usually the boy's mother, who visited the mother of the girl. If they agreed upon the match there followed a conference between the two fathers, the boy's father calling upon the girl's. At this time the former promised certain presents to the latter, to be delivered some time after the marriage. These were not offered as inducements to the girl's father to gain his consent to the match. There was no bartering. It was understood that a reciprocal presentation of gifts would follow the initial transfer. The promise of the presents was simply an expression of good will and a part of the formalized procedure which made up the marriage complex. Sometimes neither of the boy's parents took part in the preliminary negotiations. Instead they selected a relative or friend to approach the girl's mother and father. The reason for doing this seems to have been the fear of refusal, which was keenly felt and particularly humiliating. Parents alone made the final decisions in marriage proposals. Other relatives were not formally consulted nor were their opinions seriously considered.

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Upon the day set for the marriage ceremony, usually only a few days after the proposal, the parents of the girl took her to the home of the boy. They were accompanied by relatives, friends and either the chief or subchief. They arrived late in the day for the ceremony was always held in the evening. The bride and groom were called together and sat near the chief, who officiated. He first made certain that the parents were agreeable to the marriage. He than addressed the pair. He admonished them to realize the seriousness of the contract they were becoming parties to, to understand that they were expected not to separate in a short time, to treat their parents-in-law with consideration and take care never to offend them, and at all times to provide for each other and care for the wants of each other. When the chief had finished he gave the others in the gathering an opportunity to speak. The old men present gave advice of much the same nature as that proffered by the chief. During the procedure the bride and groom said nothing to each other. An informal feast provided by the groom's parents followed. The visitors then left. No presents were given at this time. The girl, however, was presented with new clothing by her husband's parents. Sometimes the boy, too, was given new clothing by his mother.

Although residence was definitely patrilocal it is uncertain where the newly married couple stayed during the first few days after the ceremony. According to John Tom the groom accompanied the bride and her family to their home and remained there for a short time before establishing permanent residence at the house of his parents.[14] But Burke stated that from the beginning the couple remained at the husband's home. It may be that both customs existed, but neither informant provided for an alternative. Perhaps the custom of residing for a short time with the girl's parents was given up in the more recent times known by Burke. He said that any prolonged matrilocal residence would have been considered disgraceful. A woman, however, was allowed to visit her own family whenever she desired unless relations between the families were strained.

To return to the marriage: the ceremonial procedure was not completed with the rite of the first evening, but the bride and groom no longer played a part. From the first night they stayed together. On that occasion they remained in the presence of the others, but for several days subsequently they stayed by themselves for the most of the time. They were not expected to wait for a period of time (as were the Thompson) before intercourse. Within two or three days after the first ceremony, often on the following day, the groom's parents took the promised gifts to the bride's mother and father. These consisted always of food—camas, dried salmon and other staples—and sometimes of other goods as well, such as baskets, buckskins, canoes and horses. These presents were called sta'lam. The amount of presents given was determined by the wealth of the donors. Sometimes relatives assisted in supplying goods. A great feast was provided by the recipients of the gifts, but they did not use the food they had received in its preparation. The presents were not kept in their entirety by the girl's parents, but

[14] Cf. the Wishram practice (Spier, *Wishram Ethnography*, page 219).

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585 following the repast much of wh.. had been received was distributed among their relatives who were assembled for the feast.

About a month later the groom's parents once more visited the parents of the bride. Again they took presents, and those relatives who accompanied them supplied gifts of their own. The procedure, involving a feast and the re-distribution of presents by the recipients, was very similar to that outlined above on the occasion of the first visit. The bride and groom did not attend. A reciprocal visit and presentation of gifts followed within a very few days. The girl's parents attempted to equal if not surpass the quantity of presents they had received. At this time the recently married couple was present, but only as members of the household.

606 Reciprocal visits and the giving of presents between the relatives-in-law continued at intervals of about a year for two or three years. These formal visits were entirely a family concern and involved family, not individual, relations. The husband and wife whose union was responsible for the establishment of these relations were not more important figures in the ceremonies than any of the other relatives. The customary visits were observed even in their absence. The length of time over which these inter-family visits were continued depended upon a number of factors such as wealth, distance separating the two families, and intimacy between them.

852 Immediately following the birth of the first child a feast was prepared and the two families gathered together to celebrate the occasion. At this time no presents were given.

606 Parents-in-law addressed each other by the reciprocal term anri'mtan. Relatives by marriage were not restricted in conduct toward each other by special rules or tabus. There was no mother-in-law tabu.

585 In one feast which always followed a marriage the wedded couple were the sponsors and central figures. As soon after the wedding day as they were able to accumulate sufficient food by their own efforts they set a feast to which the whole community was invited. It was usually necessary to have at least one whole deer, and large quantities of supplementary foods. With the giving of this feast the new couple acquired the recognised status of a separate family.

584 The above outline characterises the traditional and most common procedure in marriage and the establishment of a family. But there were other forms of marriage as well. When a man was without relatives, or far from his own home, he acted as his own representative in meeting the parents of the girl he wished to marry. The initial ceremony was held, but the reciprocal visits were, of necessity, dispensed with. If at a later date the parents of the two met a tardy exchange of presents was usually made.

588 Common law marriages were ordinarily recognised after the birth of a child. The parents often became reconciled after a few years and "completed" the marriage by feasting and exchanging gifts.

587 Mature individuals whose parents were dead or who had been previously married did not observe the procedure customary for younger persons. In minimal

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form the observances were reduced to informing the chief of the persons' intention to become man and wife and public announcement in the form of an after-marriage feast. 587

Marriages, again in the case of mature persons, sometimes came as an aftermath of the winter dances. The shaman in charge might "give" to someone present a woman who appeared to him in a vision. When this was done the two became helplessly enamoured of each other as soon as they met and immediately lived together. They were looked upon as man and wife even before they met.[15] 585

If a boy indicated to his father that he desired to marry a certain girl but his father disapproved and refused to intercede for him he could either give up the suit or attempt one of two alternatives. He might ascertain where in her house the girl slept, quietly enter some night after all were asleep and go to her. If the girl were willing to take the boy as her husband she allowed him to stay with her all night. Upon being found there the next morning by the girl's parents they would either sanction the marriage, in which case the approval of the boy's parents was not necessary to legality, or would drive him away and the affair would be ended. 583

The other alternative, and the only one left if the first failed, was elopement. Great risk was involved in eloping; such a venture was not lightly undertaken. The persons were almost certain to be pursued by the parents and if caught both were punished by lashing. If however, they were able to make a successful escape and reach the abode of friends some distance away they might gain their end. It was usually possible to return home after a few months with a reasonable certainty of being unmolested.

Burke insisted that marriage contracts assumed the nature of pure purchase of a bride seventy or eighty years ago, and that the traditional visits and gift exchanges between parents-in-law were discarded. If true this provides an interesting example of breakdown of social practice in the face of extraneous influence (invasions of whites), but a careful study of the change would be necessary to warrant drawing any conclusions.

Polygamy was an accepted form extensively practiced. Shamans, chiefs and unusually good hunters and gamblers had the largest numbers of wives. Physical appearance played an important role in determining the number of wives possessed by a man. So great an emphasis was placed upon appearance that a woman was willing to live under comparatively hard circumstances if married to a handsome man. She was respected and envied regardless of economic status. It was unusual for a man to have more than three wives in the same household, but Burke had heard of exceptional cases where chiefs had had many more than that number at the same time. 581 595

It was quite a different matter for a man to have more than one wife in separate establishments. There was hardly a man who at some time during his life did not have at least two wives with whom he lived alternately. Temporary separation was not recognized as divorce. A man might leave his wife, marry 595

[15] See page 198.

595 another and live with her for a time. Whenever he desired he could return to his former wife. The concept of "supporting" a wife did not exist and therefore the question of providing for the various wives with whom a man was not living did not arise. An able bodied woman was quite as capable of taking care of all of her personal needs as she was of attending to a part of the requirements of both herself and her husband. She could always trade her roots and berries for salmon or venison. Moreover she was always welcome at the home of her parents or relatives. Nevertheless it was desirable to have a husband in attendance and there was considerable enmity and quarreling between the wives of a man. One or another felt that she had more "right" to the man's presence, or that she was being unduly neglected. Burke said that the reason a man changed from one wife to another was that he soon became tired of one woman and then another seemed more attractive, or quarreled with one and left her for another.

A man resented another's paying attentions to a wife of his even though he were not living with her. Co-habitation was adultery of as serious a nature as though the husband were present. Many quarrels resulted. Even though a man were not particularly interested in one of his wives it was a blow to his vanity to have her accept the attentions of another.

586 A woman was never privileged to leave her husband. However, if her husband stayed away from her for a long period of time, living with another wife, she might refuse to accept him upon his return. If he could not prevail upon her to live with him again, and if the sympathies of the community were with the woman, she became in effect a single woman once more. After a reasonable period of time she might remarry.

In recent times these limited rights of women seem to have been expanded, or perhaps the above formulation was not always enforced in practice. In any event, the first wife of Jim James, qwɯ'xwa'pi'tsa, left him and returned to her parents because he repeatedly visited another woman, staying away for several days at a time. About a year later she married again. One of the wives of wuqapi'tk^{w} of Roger's Bar left him permanently as the result of a petty quarrel. She gave herself more food at meals than she gave her husband. He called her qami·'la, "greedy, glutton," whereupon she left his house.

586 684 If a husband obviously deserted a wife who had borne him children he was sought out and considerable pressure was brought to bear by the chief and others, to get him to return. If a man deserted his wife and was not found his wife was considered free and allowed to remarry after about a year. If her former husband returned at a later time with another woman, that marriage was recognized. If a married woman disappeared with another man a strong effort was made to find them. If the hunt ended successfully the two were returned, the man lashed and the woman sent back to her husband. The latter could accept her or refuse to live with her longer, as he pleased. If he gave her up she was allowed to marry again.

The prevalence of separation and subsequent remarriage even in recent times is indicated by the fact that Burke, who was very widely acquainted, could name no man who had not had at least two wives during his lifetime.

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The levirate and the sororate were both practiced, but neither was obligatory. Wives who were sisters were preferred in theory to those who were not, but John Tom knew of no actual example. When a man's wife died it became his right to wed any unmarried sister of his deceased spouse. If a sister subject to such a claim married another before the period of mourning (one to two years) during which remarriage was prohibited was over her husband had to answer to the brother-in-law who held the prior right. The latter might kill the best horses of the former, who would have no recourse. If retaliation were attempted the offender was apt to lose his life at the brother-in-law's hand. Any such act would have been condoned by the chief and the people. When a woman's husband died she became the wife of the oldest brother of the deceased if he wished to exercise his option. Often he did not. If he were already married or if the woman were unattractive to him he simply ignored her, or passed on his claim to one of his younger brothers, a cousin or a nephew. If a man had no brothers his wife, upon his death, was open to claim first by his cousins and then by his nephews both in order of age. Theoretically it was the right of the woman to receive as husband one of the above "but she had no way to enforce that right." (Burke) When all claims to a woman under the levirate were relinquished she was free to marry whom she pleased and her husband was not required to make any payment or present any gifts to the brother-in-law.

A wife whose husband had died was prohibited from marrying again during the period of mourning and until she had been given permission to do so by her husband's family. But, unlike violations under the sororate, both the man and the woman were subject to punishment if the canons were broken. Covington told of a woman who married an outsider a short time after her husband's death. The deceased man had no brothers, but revenge was taken by a cousin. He cut off her ears and killed two horses of her husband. Addressing the latter he said, "Now you can have her."

When asked what recourse a woman might have who objected to becoming the wife of her dead husband's brother, Burke answered, "None. If the man wanted her she would have to go with him. If he had to he would whip her and make her go." But I also got from him the following anecdote where such summary action was not taken.

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There were two brothers. One was married but the other was not. The married brother died, and the other planned to take his widow as a wife. But she refused to have him because she didn't like him. For a year the brother kept asking her to become his wife, but she always refused. He often followed her into the woods in an attempt to get her. One time she was returning from berry picking. The brother found her tracks and followed her. When he caught sight of her he saw that she had folded the back of her dress up so that it would not become stained with the berry juice that ran from the basket. The juice was running down her legs. She heard the sound behind her and looked around. When she saw who it was she sat down and cried. She was very much ashamed. She said he could have her now.

Besides throwing light on the levirate this account shows the great emphasis that was placed on modesty.

593 A man expected implicit obedience from his wife. If it were not given he often resorted to physical violence, even to using a club. "It was his right. After she had been knocked down a few times she would no longer disobey." (Burke) All family affrays, however, were not the result of disobedience on the part of the wife. Some men were naturally pugnacious. They delighted in teasing and annoying their wives. This soon became habitual and wrangling characterized the relations between the husband and wife. But most quarrels, Burke said, were soon patched up. A man might be railing and a woman crying at one moment, and a moment later the two might be laughing over it all. Quarrels rarely led to permanent separations, but were often the cause of a man's going from one wife to another. Altercations were more common between newly married couples than older ones. "Older people had better sense," Burke commented.

ILLEGAL AND ABNORMAL SEX RELATIONS

684 In clear cases of adultery the man was usually punished by death at the hand of the injured husband. The relatives of the slain man made no attempt at retaliation. Such action was recognized as proper. The adultress might be beaten by her husband or relieved from punishment, as he willed. Her hair was never cut off for such a transgression. He might take back his wife, the usual course, or turn her out. There was no shame connected with keeping a wife who had been guilty of adultery, even though it were publicly known, as was ordinarily unavoidable.

599 The relations between unmarried persons and restrictions in that connection
684 have already been discussed. But despite the care that was taken considerable
836 promiscuousness existed. "Young men," Burke said, "spent a great deal of time prowling around at night in an attempt to find some girl." Kate Staples declared that it was common for a young man to make a practice of travelling from one village to another in his canoe, stopping at each one only long enough to consummate an affair with some girl, "until he got ready to settle down." The girl usually took part in arranging such an escapade. Upon a chance or casual meeting during the day the two planned the hour and place. It was ordinarily necessary for the girl to wait until all others in the house were asleep, then quietly to slip away. Such amours were usually consummated in a nearby secluded spot and the girl soon returned to her home for she did not dare stay away long for fear her absence would be discovered. Sometimes a boy entered a girl's house and slept with her with the avowed object of becoming married to her, but left before morning. When this happened the girl was very much ashamed and attempted to keep all others from knowing what had happened. Often she tried to persuade him to return another time and stay, so that they might be married. The boy only was punished when illicit relations between unmarried persons were detected. The
684 punishment meted out was lashing. Young persons were not the only ones guilty
837 of arranging unapproved intrigues but older persons did not have to exercise such extreme care and were less apt to be punished if caught unless one or both were married. In any case, the actions of adults were less hampered by the ever watchful eyes of others.

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Rape was punished by severe lashing. The woman was never forced to marry the man for he was considered "no good—not good enough for anybody." (Burke) Women were most often assaulted when found alone while picking berries or gathering fuel. A woman was rendered helpless by a blow across each arm with a heavy club.

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When an illegitimate child was born the mother was called before the chief and an attempt was made to learn from her the identity of the father of the child. If the girl would not tell she was whipped, but even under such treatment a girl sometimes refused to name the man. If the father were discovered he was punished (lashed) and required to marry the girl if her parents would consent. The wishes of the boy's parents were not considered. If the marriage were not effected the mother allowed someone to adopt the child or kept it and cared for it with the help of her family. A woman who had borne an illegitimate child was treated respectfully and in no sense ostracized, but she was often "talked about behind her back." The many children that were born out of wedlock were not treated differently from others, either as children or adults. One of them might be taunted by other children if he were ignorant of who his father was, but such was seldom the case. He was told by his mother or others.

Prostitution was common, as might be expected in a polygamous community. It was common knowledge that certain women could be had by anyone at any time. It was an insult to be called a wi'lawit, the term applied to a prostitute. Even those whom the name fitted resented it. These women received no payment for their services. They were probably hypersexuals and those who were not sufficiently attractive to obtain a husband. In striking contrast to traditional Sanpoil standards "these women did not care how a man looked." (Burke) Prostitutes, however, sometimes eventually married. Burke told of s——,[1] "the loosest woman ever known in this valley," who finally married. At forty or forty-five years of age she married s——, a Sanpoil. The latter had been married before. The common objection to marrying a prostitute was not a moral one, but the fear that she would not remain faithful. Although prostitutes were not ordinarily molested, their profession was not openly recognized. If concrete evidence were obtained against one and brought to the attention of the chief she was lashed. The men involved might be punished as well.

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The attitudes toward incest were particularly well formulated in a myth relating an instance of brother and sister incest and accounting for the origin of death. Extracts from the myth follow:

> There was a chief. He had a son and a daughter. The daughter was living by herself in the puberty hut. She was there for a while. She kept thinking, "I don't see anyone that I want to marry; I don't know anyone good looking enough." Her brother was thinking the same thing. "I'm good looking and so is my sister; I'd like to marry her." His sister was thinking the same thing.
>
> One night when the boy went to bathe, he went to his sister's hut and stayed with her until nearly morning. He came home and fell asleep. He hadn't slept much, so his mother had to wake him. The next night he did the same thing.

[1] Personal names have been omitted from this section and initials used instead. Small letters are initials of native names; capitals are initials of English names.

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leaving the lodge after the others had gone to sleep. The next morning his mother had to wake him again. He wouldn't answer. He kept his face covered up. His mother went over and uncovered his face. She saw on his face some of the paint that she put on the girl each day. She thought, "He must be staying with his sister. She is the only girl outside of the camp." She told the chief, her husband, what she thought. He laughed at her, saying, "The boy wouldn't do that. He knows better." But his wife was sure so the chief told her to watch their son.

That night the parents went to bed; they started to snore. The boy got up and left. A little while later the boy's mother got up. She went to the girl's hut and listened outside. She heard the two inside, laughing. The girl said, "Yes, I love you; I didn't see anyone else who was good looking enough for me. I'd just as soon marry you." Her brother answered, "I felt the same way about it." The woman went back and called her husband. He went back with her and listened. He found out that she was right. When they got back to camp the chief asked his wife what they should do. "That's up to you," she answered. "You are the chief. I like my children, but it's up to you to decide." After a while he said, "All right, I know what I'll do. I'm going to kill my son. The people would laugh if they heard about it." "All right," his wife answered, "it's up to you.... "

At daylight they held the burial.... Later the young girl was sent to her older sister with some food... Her sister grabbed her and made her tell her what had happened by telling her that she would kill her if she didn't. Then she told her to tell their mother to send her good buckskin dress, her best robe, and her belt, because she wanted to bathe and return to camp. The young girl told her mother who took the clothes up herself. They were returning from bathing. After they had passed the girl's hut she said that she wanted to go back and leave her old dress. Her mother let her go and went back to camp.

Instead of going to the hut the girl ran toward her brother's grave. When her mother got back the chief asked where their daughter was. "She went back to leave her old dress," his wife said. "No, she didn't," the chief answered. He was feeling uneasy already. He went outside and saw his daughter running, already half way to the grave. He called, "Everyone chase her. Whoever catches her can have her. I want to save my daughter." All the fastest runners, Fox, Coyote, Wolf, ran after her. She got to the cliff and sat down at the top. Just then Fox grabbed her robe. But she untied it where it was fastened at the neck and jumped over. She fell right on top of her brother. Then they both laughed. "We said we'd get together," they said; "now we have, for good. In times to come other brothers and sisters will sometimes do the same thing...."

Another myth, wherein Coyote marries his daughter, ends as follows:

The girl was very much ashamed. She jumped into the river... Coyote turned to the people and said, "This is not the only time this will happen. Every once in a while, in times to come, men will try to live with their own daughters."

In actuality the punishment of incest was seldom death. Rather, lashing was resorted to, and each of the parties to the incestuous relationship received many blows. Subsequently the persons were not ill-treated, but were often subjected to ridicule. In cases of brother-sister incest, interestingly, the parents were as much in disgrace as the children. One who had been guilty of incest found it difficult to marry for a time, "but people soon forgot." (Burke) It was believed that children born of incestuous unions would be deformed. The children themselves were treated normally.

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684 Burke related the story of two Okanogans, A—— and his sister who were convicted of incest. About 1917 when A—— was perhaps thirty and his sister twenty or twenty-five, they ran away together. They had "fallen in love with each other" but were continually kept apart at home. For a whole summer they camped about the hills, finding what they could to eat and occasionally breaking into an isolated house to obtain food. At the end of the summer they were caught and the man was sentenced to state's penitentiary at Walla Walla for one year. The girl was released and stayed in the Okanogan country. She did not bear a child. After being released from prison her brother did not return but married a Coeur d'Alene girl and remained in that country.

An account of father-daughter incest, which occurred about 1912, was also given by Burke. L—, of Roger's Bar took his twelve year old daughter to school each day on horseback. He was aged about fifty years and his wife, still living, was approximately the same age. The distance to the girl's school was about a mile and a half. He would not allow her to walk, nor would he permit anyone else to take her. The trail led through brush and timber nearly all the way. For a year he continued to accompany her, before she became pregnant. During that time he had kept her silent by threats. His wife was aware of what was happening but she, too, was afraid to say anything from fear of her husband. When the girl became pregnant her father forced her to name a certain young man as being responsible. But to her mother and some relatives she told the truth. The government officials learned of the affair and action was taken against the girl's father but there was no one who would testify against him and the case was dismissed. The man was in disgrace for a time. People laughed at him, but he paid little attention to their jeers and slights. He continued to live with his wife. Their daughter, too, remained with them. The child, a boy, was born. About a year later the girl married a Coeur d'Alene named J——. The two reared the child, who was not abnormal, but was never healthy. In 1930 he was still living. Later the couple had a child of their own.

838 Male homosexuality was called snhspsiwi'x"; female, snta'xlau'wam. Burke knew of no examples among mature individuals. He had known of homosexual tendencies among young men and women. The punishment for such indulgences was whipping.

839 Male masturbation was termed atkspatqant'su'ta; female, atamt'sumt'suta. Boys who were known to masturbate were teased about it but never punished. The schoolmates of a girl, w——, knew that she masturbated. They nicknamed her and chided her.

None of my informants were acquainted with any case of hermaphroditism or transvestitism among the Sanpoil. Burke told of a Coeur d'Alene named G——, who was obviously a true hermaphrodite (sta'mia). This person, whose characteristics were preponderantly female, had much hair on her upper lip and chin. She assumed male dress, however, and associated more with men than women but stayed alone a great part of the time. She was slow in speech, staring at a person for some time before speaking, and talked very obscenely. She did not marry, but lived alone most of the time.

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839 Burke hinted at sadistic and masochistic tendencies in various persons. Such factors were undoubtedly responsible in part for the acts of physical violence to which some men subjected their wives, and the passive manner with which such acts were tolerated.

762 Strained sex relations sometimes resulted in suicide.[17] When eloping couples were overtaken and brought back it was not uncommon for the girl to kill herself. Forced marriage to an undesirable husband sometimes resulted in a like action, but more often such a situation was endured for a time until an opportunity to run away appeared. Since she had been married the girl was no longer subject to return to her parents in such a case. A woman ended her life by hanging or by falling forward on her digging stick.

Burke's maternal grandmother committed suicide by hanging. She had been away with a man for several days. Upon her return she was reprimanded by her older sister and told never to see him again. She then took a trapline and left the house. Her sister thought she was going for wood. Instead she found a fallen log with a limb projecting upward, tied the line around her neck, crawled out on the limb and tied the other end of the line to the end of the limb, and jumped off.

Male suicide was not as common as female. Men probably never hung themselves but rather thrust a knife into the heart or shot an arrow into the air and ran under it. A Sanpoil man named tappa'lkut was told that his wife was cohabiting with his brother. He announced that he was going to kill himself. He went out, shot several arrows into the air, ran underneath, but each time one came near he dodged. Then he went into the house, procured a gun and shot himself through the shoulder. After that he called upon his brother, told him what he had done and gave the reason, and told him he might have his horse for he was going to die. But he did not die. Instead he took back his horse and his wife.

DEATH

763 When a person became fatally ill he was left alone with some old man to
783 whom he confessed all of the misdeeds of his life. Sometimes the dying person
775 requested that the old man be sent to him. At other times one of the relatives sent the auditor to the bedside. It was felt that if the confession were not made or if any transgression were left untold the ghost (sku'susqa') of the dead man would roam about the country which had been his home, suffering constant torment, for a period sometimes amounting to eternity. Never would it be able to achieve peace until it reached the land of the dead. Moreover the ghost would appear to the relatives of the dead man and scare them, whereas if it reached the land of the dead it would never again appear to living persons.[18] The old man who received the confession held the confidences in the utmost secrecy. They were never divulged under any circumstances. He was not paid for his services. Any respected old man could serve.[19]

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[17] Cf. the myth, page 146.

[18] A proper understanding of the Sanpoil customs connected with death and burial is impossible except in the light of their beliefs concerning souls, ghosts and spirits. These beliefs are described on pages 169-76.

[19] There is a strong suggestion of Catholic influence in this formulation, but I feel certain that there was some foundation for it in aboriginal practice.

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763 If a person suffered convulsions or was delirious it was considered certain
783 that something had been untold and that his ghost would frequent the vicinity
775 after his death.

764 A corpse was never allowed to remain indoors for a moment. Immediately upon determining that death had come the body was wrapped in deer hide and taken to the woods or a nearby thicket where it was deposited in the limbs of a tree or in the brush where it was safe from molestation by animals. If it were left in the house the lonesome spirit or spirits of the man might enter some person present and make him ill. If it were necessary to keep the body overnight before burying it someone stayed up all night in the house to keep the spirits and ghost (disembodied soul) from entering the dwelling.

Burial took place as soon as possible. Not more than one day was ever allowed to pass. If death had occurred during the night or in the morning the body was disposed of in the afternoon. If the corpse had been kept overnight it was buried at sunrise the following morning, but the morning meal was not omitted. In recent times a messenger had been sent about to spread the news of the death and invite persons to the funeral. But before only relatives and close friends were notified and attended.

The body was prepared for burial by flexing, and wrapped in deer skin with the hair adhering, and tule mats. The clothing worn at the time of death was not removed. The face or body was not painted. Poor persons were wrapped only in tule mats. The wrappings were securely fastened with rope. The corpse was never bound to a board. A pole by which the pallbearers carried the body was slipped under the wrappings and rope.

Pallbearers were not necessarily relatives, but they were designated by relatives. Three or four were necessary. The relatives also selected two or three men to dig the grave. These men preceded the procession bearing the corpse and attempted to finish their work by the time the latter arrived. They selected the nearest customary burying ground. There were very many of these. Near each winter village one or two were located. There were no special family burial places. All burying grounds were in rocky places, talus slopes or sand banks. The rocky banks of the Columbia furnished many suitable spots. Rocks were removed by hand until a round hole three or four feet deep was excavated. At the foot of a sand bank it was only necessary to dig a small hole for a part of the bank could be broken down easily to form a mound over the corpse. Bodies were never cremated or placed in the river. Pallbearers and grave diggers were not paid.

756 Friends and relatives followed the pallbearers. In the company was always
764 at least one shaman. His presence was not solicited—he went of his own accord—but his attendance was necessary to a proper burial. It was one of the unshirkable duties of every shaman to officiate at funerals—and one for which he received no compensation. Upon reaching the burial grounds the body was placed near the open grave. If the digging had not been completed that was done before the ceremony started. The grave diggers remained for the rite.

756 The interment ceremony was in the hands of some old man, probably a relative. He first called upon some one present to "say a few words." The person
764 designated stepped to the side of the grave and solemnly spoke of the inevitability
776 of death and eulogized the deceased. When he finished he stepped back and the man in charge called for the shaman to perform his part of the ceremony. This consisted of ridding the grave of the presence of spirits. The shaman had brought with him branches of rosebush. With these he swept out the hole and brushed off the corpse. This act was called snake'xulaxum. Branches of the rosebush were used rather than some other brush because the thorns were thought to prick the invading spirits and thereby be more effective in driving them away. While the shaman was discharging this duty he spoke to the assemblage, saying that though he was not omnipotent he nevertheless hoped that his actions would eliminate any spirits which might have lodged themselves in the grave to later torture the ghost. "These precautions should always be taken," he said. "If some stranger were in the vicinity his spirit would be certain to see the grave and jump into it. We don't want that to happen." The shaman never touched the corpse with his hands. As soon as he had finished he threw aside the rose branches (it was not necessary to destroy them for they were only instrumental; the spirits did not lodge in them), and stepped aside for the pallbearers who placed the corpse in the grave (in a sitting position) as quickly as possible.

764 With the body were deposited the person's keepsakes, fetishes, and ornaments
776 of dress such as feathers, quills and strips of fur, but no clothing or other objects. No time was then lost in covering the body for every moment that elapsed gave further opportunity for spirits to enter. Flat rocks were laid on the corpse, then smaller rocks, gravel or sand. Sometimes the grave was covered with brush. Grave markers consisted of two or three small split cedar sticks erected in the rocks. Canoes or carvings were never placed over graves.

Occasionally a short speech of consolation to the bereaved followed the interment. It was delivered by someone who had not previously talked. Upon its conclusion the mourners returned to the village.

It is felt nowadays, with the use of deep graves and caskets, spirits are almost certain to remain with the body even though great care is taken to eliminate them. Their presence is attested by the noises heard when the casket is lowered into the grave. On one occasion John Tom was assisting in digging such a grave. As he was finishing the excavation, at a depth of about five feet, he suddenly felt as if something had grabbed him around the chest from the back. He was clutched so tightly that he soon fell over unconscious. He had not been able to cry out. A short time later his companions, who had been a little distance away, came and investigated for they had expected Tom to join them soon. They found him lying in the bottom of the grave, motionless. They called to him but he did not answer. Then they prodded him with a shovel. Slowly he gained consciousness. He got out of the hole and was soon normal again. The spirit had evidently disappeared.

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The burial of a chief of shaman was identical with that accorded anyone else. 756
Children, too, were given the same kind of burial. Babies were sometimes buried 764
in or with their cradles. The fetus of a miscarriage was buried privately. If a
visitor died while in camp his relatives were notified and were expected to come 766
after the body if the distance were not too great. If the relatives could not be 776
reached in a short time the body was buried in the usual manner. Such burials were never disturbed; the relatives of the deceased permitted the corpse to remain where it had been deposited. Persons were never buried in the mountains. If an individual died while on a hunting expedition, for instance, the body was always returned to the permanent village. Suicides were buried in the ordinary fashion.

After the interment the mourners gathered at the house of the dead man for 765
the feast which followed and the distribution of property. The food for the feast 768
was provided by the relatives of the deceased. It was cooked by the young women who had attended the funeral. An attempt was always made to supply more food than could be eaten. "The more food one ate the less sorrowful he became." (Burke) During the feast the utmost solemnity was maintained. Children were kept away. No gambling or diversions were permitted.

The feast usually took place about noon. In the afternoon the dead man's property was divided and distributed. The bulk of the goods went to father, brothers and sons. The disposal was in the hands of one of these. After taking what he wanted he gave the rest to other relatives and friends. Usually the quantity of property for disposal was not great. Clothing was not given out, but was buried a few days after the funeral, by some old woman. If horses had been owned by the dead person they were usually taken by a brother. They were never killed. Property without value to others was burned.

The feast and property distribution did not always immediately follow the burial. It was sometimes postponed for as long a time as a year. The reason for this was probably lack of sufficient food at the time to provide a proper feast.

Persons receiving property took great care to rid it of any spirits before using 756
it. The usual procedure was to wrap the goods with intermixed branches of the 768
rosebush and leave them thus for a month or more. After that they were used without fear of evil consequences. The house in which the person had died was vacated and burned if it were a temporary dwelling. The mat covering was first removed and saved, however, for the building of a new residence, some distance away. Indeed, the whole settlement sometimes moved when a person died in a summer camp, the houses being easily portable. If the death occurred in a winter house it was torn down, but not until spring. In the meantime the house was intensively fumigated and numerous measures were taken to counteract the effects of the presence there of a corpse. Green fir boughs and rosebushes were burned slowly in the house fires to render the dwelling uninhabitable to spirits. Small twigs of fir and rosebush were thrust between the matting and the framework of the house. If particularly fearful of the presence of spirits the occupants called in a shaman to clear the place with the use of rosebush branches as was done at the grave. Since the advent of the log house, which is too valuable to burn, the latter precaution almost always has been taken.

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765 In addition to the cautions observed in connection with the property and
783 goods of the deceased, the chief mourners and all those who had touched the corpse went through a rigorous program of purification and purgation. Primarily this consisted of extensive sweating and bathing. If the sweat house were visited several times a day for about a week, the pallbearers and others who had incidentally touched the corpse felt that they had sufficiently protected themselves against possible unpleasant experiences. For chief mourners, however, this was but a start. Adults sometimes isolated themselves in the woods for a month or two, swimming early each morning and late in the evening and sweating during the daytime. After bathing and sweating, the body and face were rubbed with fir twigs. New twigs were used each time. Whether mourners went to the woods or stayed in camp they regularly drank a decoction of the root of the rosebush or of red ants each night and morning. Use of the rosebush drink was sometimes continued for a year. Regular bedding was dispensed with, also, sometimes for a year. Instead, bedding of fir boughs was slept on. No bed covering was used. The boughs were often changed. (The bedding which had been used by the dead person was not destroyed, however, unless very old. It was kept for future use.)

765 A man refrained from hunting or fishing for a year after the death of a wife.
784 If this had not been done all of the game would have left the country. "They would have been afraid of him." (Burke) Implements and weapons used by him would have been henceforth useless, until washed with water in which rose branches had soaked.

Besides guarding the general welfare, certain specific dangers were overcome by carrying out the preceding precautions. When a hunter or fisherman again took up his activities, his luck and that of all associated with him would have been impaired if he had not used fir bough bedding during mourning. Serious illness, ("consumption") was apt to result from the use of the same dishes and tools that had been utilized by the dead person if the decoction had not been regularly taken.

765 After a death all noises heard at night were interpreted as caused by the
775 ghost of the deceased person. For a month or two young people and children would not venture out of the house alone after dark.

765 A long period of formal mourning was expected of the close relatives of a dead person. For a bereaved husband or wife the time was customarily not less than two years. Older informants said that this was sometimes lengthened to three or four years. Since observation of the rule against remarrying was the principal requirement of the mourning period, the fact that some waited for three or four years before marrying again may have led to the above statement. Persons standing in relationships other than that of husband or wife were not subject to so long a period of mourning. Perhaps one year was the average for a parent,
302 brother or sister, or son or daughter. The hair of a widow was cut off in a straight
765 line just above the shoulders, and burned. All informants stated that she did not remarry until it had grown long again but there was no agreement as to what constituted "long." Men did not cut their hair, but let it hang unbraided down

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the back. All mourners wore their oldest clothes and never any ornaments. The clothes were not changed until mourning was over, or until they literally dropped off. During this time the face was not painted. Besides short hair, widows wore another formal sign of mourning. This consisted of narrow (one-fourth inch wide) buckskin bands tied around the neck and wrists. Presumably these were not removed until they dropped off. A modified fast was observed by mourners, the length of which depended upon the nearness of the relationship. Only sufficient food to sustain existence was eaten. There were no restrictions as to kind of food that should be eaten, however, and no rule against smoking.

For the entire mourning period a person refrained from singing. For some time other people were avoided, especially a widow. It was customary to work very little for a month or more, though to work immediately would not have been a desecration. There was no formalized wailing as a part of mourning. No peculiar formalities were associated with mourning for a parent.

In the case of a widow or widower the exact termination of mourning was customarily set by the parents-in-law. When the latter felt that sufficient time had passed they told the mourner that he or she might assume normal dress and remarry. Or if the bereaved one felt that he had waited long enough and wanted to marry again he was free to send his parents to request a release from his parents-in-law. If the time elapsed were a reasonable approximation of the customary period the request was always granted, and the assurance added that the new spouse would be looked upon as a son or daughter. If the formality of seeking the parents-in-law's approval of a new marriage were neglected much ill-feeling resulted.

For approximately a year after a person's death his name was not mentioned. Rather he was referred to as "the deceased," tamtamaní'. A woman whose husband has died was not called by her name for a like period, but was known as siu·wi'lampt, "widow." This term was used by all, not only by relatives. The objection to speaking the name of the recently deceased did not, however, cause words of similar phonetic pattern to be avoided or changed.

DIVERSIONS

GAMES AND GAMBLING

177 525 554 Gambling was a feature of practically all of the games played by adults among the Sanpoil. The clever and successful gambler was a man of high repute. He was respected and envied; deference was paid him by all members of the group. He was the most social of all individuals, for his occupation took him to every festivity or group gathering of any kind within a wide radius. The reputation of the particularly clever gambler spread far beyond the bounds of his own territory, and gradually he attended functions farther and farther distant from his own home. He thus became characteristically a traveller, and upon his return home the account of his experiences was eagerly received. Doubtless he was responsible for a considerable interchange of culture between neighboring peoples.

525 556 Moreover, the fortunate gambler accumulated material goods far in excess of the average of his fellows. In this respect he ordinarily surpassed the chief, and compared favorably with the shaman, although the fortunes of the latter were more stable. Due to his possession of goods in quantity he was able to have more than one wife, and the colorful nature of his calling attracted the attentions of marriageable women.

525 776 The success of the gambler was always credited to the power of his guardian spirit or spirits, both by himself and others. If his spirit deserted him he would lose in every contest. If he were pitted against an individual with a more powerful spirit the opponent invariably won—or rather, if a gambler lost, the universal assumption was that his opponent's spirit was the stronger.

THE STICK GAME

525 Perhaps the most important gambling game was the stick game (stc'lâ'luk^{w}; also called slahal, lehal and the hand game, in the literature), but my informants declared that it was somewhat less popular in olden times than it is at present. It was played only between members of different villages or groups, but any time during the year. During the winter ceremonial season and the summer fishing season the greatest amount of playing took place, since at these times people from many villages gathered together.

The players on either side might number anywhere from three to a score or two. The organization of each side was accomplished by a leader, who instigated the game and then gathered players. Each person who participated was required to place a bet, large or small, as he pleased. The bets consisted of various articles of clothing, weapons, horse accoutrements; in fact, goods of whatever nature the person might have available. The bets placed by either side were pooled and compared from time to time as to quantity. Whenever the total bets placed by one side equalled those accumulated by the other side, the game started. This process of gathering and matching of bets invariably took a long time, occasionally several hours. If one side appeared short in the comparison the leader of the

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opposite side called for additional bets from his followers, or attempted to get others to join his side and make their bets. The new contributions to the pool might more than equal the difference; then it became necessary for the other side once more to call for stakes.

The game was played with two pairs of bones, one of each pair being marked, and the other unmarked, and twenty sticks used as counters. The bones were made usually of the tibia of the deer. They were two and a half or three inches long and an inch or an inch and a quarter in diameter. The marked bone had a narrow painted or incised band around the middle, or was encircled with a buckskin thong. The counters were simply pointed splints a foot long and about a quarter of an inch in diameter.

The essential point of the game was to guess in which hands the players with the bones held the unmarked ones. The game proceeded as follows: The players of each side knelt or squatted in two parallel rows facing each other, a distance of about five feet separating them. Anyone who had placed a bet was privileged to play, but not required to do so. Before each row was placed a long log, elevated two or three inches from the ground on small sticks. Between the two groups were fires if the playing took place at night. During the winter when the playing was done inside the long house the rows formed on either side of the fireplaces. The leaders took their positions at the middle of their respective sides. Each player was given a stick with which he beat on the log before him. These were twelve or fifteen inches long, an inch or two in diameter; when not in use they were kept in a buckskin bag or wrapped in buckskin. Every prominent gambler owned a set of these sticks.

The leaders each took ten counters and one pair of bones. To determine which side was to have the first play, the leaders matched the bones after having rolled them in their hands, shifted or pretended to shift them under cover of a blanket, garment, hat, or behind the back. The arms were outstretched and the hands opened revealing the bones. The leader winning the match took both pairs of bones and won one of the opponents' counters. The players on the side gaining the bones proceeded to beat in time on the log before them at a tempo of about 240 per minute, and started singing a gambling song such as the following, which was started by its owner:

a··· xa··· i··· axau··· ana··· xauiu···, etc.[1]
(Meaningless syllables; gradually fading out toward the end)

Or: oi···'xenaxawiu···o···ai···oxena'awi···
xe'nəna···o···xenə'awiyi···'
xenə'awiyi···, etc.[2]
(Meaningless syllables)

[1] John Tom's song.
[2] Bear's song.

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525 Arbitrary words were sometimes inserted, such as the following:

528 o-'ya'ta' ti-'s naqsá'luq
I pity my lone counter.

525 After a moment's hesitation the leader picked up the bones which had been thrown in front of him, examined them carefully, then rolled them in his hands, swung his arms from side to side in time to the music, went through various other fantastic movements, then threw the bones, one pair at a time, to two players of his selection, one at his right and one at his left. The players selected were usually at opposite extremities of the line, but not invariably so. They went through a procedure similar to that of the leader, hesitating before taking the bones, waving the arms, hiding the bones and shifting them, sometimes many times. All of the motions of the players holding the bones were intently watched by the leader on the opposite side; he did the guessing. After a few moments the players brought their arms forward and crossed them in front of their chests, often with the hands in the opposite arm pits.

The guesser then held out the left hand with the palm outstretched and made various motions as of guessing with his right hand, in order to confuse the players or to gain from them some inadvertant indication of the position of the bones. If a player believed that the guesser knew in which hand he held the plain bone he might shift them again, or go through false motions under cover. The guesser continued with his gestures. Other players on the side of the guesser also were permitted to go through the motions of guessing in order to confuse their opponents. The difference between a true and a final guess, and a false or preliminary one, was a subtle nod of the head, or a dropping of the arms to the sides. Since a player immediately surrendered the bones as the result of a correct final guess, the preliminary gestures, if carefully conducted by the guesser, were very apt to cause the player to make a minimal movement of surrender if correct or to gain an indication of security if incorrect. If such indications were made by either or both players, it was a simple matter to indicate a final decision and win the bones. Both final and tentative guesses were made by indicating the position of the bones with a conventionalized gesture of the right hand and at the same time clapping
201 the left hand on the right shoulder. The signals were as follows (M indicates the
525 marked, U the unmarked bone):

U M — M U	Thumb and index finger extended, others flexed.
M U — U M	A gesture downward and straight ahead with the right hand; index finger extended.
U M — U M	Gesture to the left with the index finger extended.
M U — M U	Gesture to the right with the index finger extended.

That is, if the guesser judged the player at his left to have the unmarked bone in his right hand and the player at the right to be holding the plain one in his left hand, he indicated his guess in the first manner above, etc.

525 If the judgment was correct the bones were thrown to the other side. Of course, the guess may have been correct for only one player, in which case the

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other continued to hold the bones, and play was resumed with only the one pair. The guesser indicated his judgments by a simple gesture to the left or right when only one player was hiding the bones. As soon as he had correctly guessed the hand in which the plain bone was held his side took the bones. Meanwhile he had lost one counter for every incorrect guess where one player was involved, and two counters where neither of two players was guessed aright. Conversely, he won for his side a counter for each correct guess. 525 538

When a wrong guess was made the player slowly extended his arms, palms outstretched, and displayed the bones, then often threw the bones in the air and caught them again, uttering exclamations of satisfaction. The other players on his side jeered at their opponents, in song. Throughout the play the beating on the log and the singing continued.

When the opposing side took the bones they began to beat on their log and to sing, and those who had lost them became quiescent. Thus the play proceeded with the bones passing back and forth, until one side had won all of the counters. Occasionally the game ended within an hour or two, but more often it lasted several hours or all night.

At successive periods of play the leader threw the bones to those nearer and nearer him in his line, until all had had an opportunity to play. However, if one person were having particularly good luck the bones might be returned to him several times in succession; if a poor player were present he might be passed up. On the other hand, if a player were having a run of luck which he feared might not last, he was privileged to return the bones to the leader, who went through the original motions with them, then threw them back, either to the same or another player, at his discretion. Even when originally presented with the bones a player might refuse to take them if he feared ill-fortune. 525

The leader seldom, if ever, kept the bones himself. If all the players had had a turn, and the game still continued, the bones were usually returned again to the players at the ends of the line. The leader sometimes called upon another to guess for him, especially if he had been consistently wrong for a time.

The counters, as well as the bones, were handled in a formal manner. When the leader first received the ten splints he thrust them in the ground before him. Upon losing one he pulled it up, rolled it between his palms to remove the dirt adhering to the point, then threw it to the other side. The counters won were not touched until the bones changed hands, whereupon they were forced into the ground at an angle or laid across each other on the ground. In surrendering counters those of the original stock were all used before any subtractions were made from those which had been won. In order to win the game, it was necessary for a side to hold its own counters as well as those of the opponent, twenty in all. In other words, all those counters originally thrust in the ground had to be removed and placed with those won before the game was over.

Occasionally, in games where only a small number of players were involved, only one set of bones was used.

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525 The side winning the game took the pool collected by its opponents. Division of the goods was made in accordance with the value of the bet placed by each player. Winning players received back their own bets also, of course.

Women played the same game, except that smaller bones were used, and singing was the only audible accompaniment. Instead of beating on a log the women swung their arms in opposite directions, from side to side, elbows flexed.

Women are considered by the natives, at least at the present day, to be better gamblers than men—that is, they bet more freely. In pre-white times women undoubtedly played the stick game much less, however, than at present.

WOMEN'S DICE GAME

The dice game (muqmuqami'n, "dice") was the most popular woman's gambling game. It was played at any time during the year when participants were available. Men, as well, sometimes played the dice game.

521 525 531 Four dice were used, made either of beaver teeth or deer ribs (Figure 21, a). Beaver teeth were used in their natural shape. When deer ribs were used pieces three or four inches long were cut, then steamed and straightened, polished and

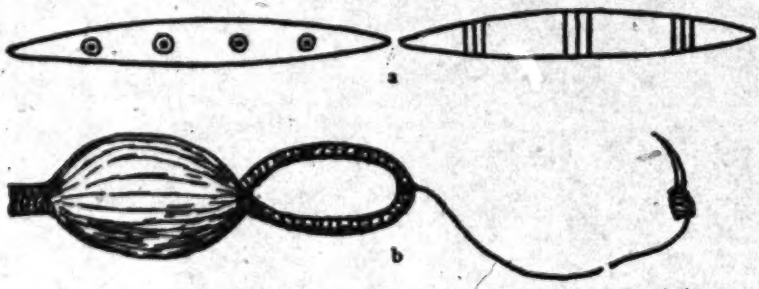

FIG. 21. (a) Bone dice for woman's dice game. (b) Tule ball and thorn for ball and pin game.

pointed at the ends. One side of each of the bones or teeth was incised with four concentric-circle or dot and circle designs (sqaia'i'), the other side with one to three groups of stripes (nxlaps'qən, "skunk," from the lines on the skunk's back). The incisions were filled with red or black pigment. The dots and circles were made by twirling a stone fragment with two points, one acting as a pivot. The dice were made by the women, and great pride was taken in their appearance.

525 The game involved shaking the dice in the cupped hands, then throwing them with a sidewise motion from the left side of the body onto a robe of buckskin. When deer rib dice were used they were thrown forward. Several women played at one time. Each was entitled to a turn, in order, during which she continued to throw the dice until they fell with all circles down, an arrangement which transferred the dice to the next person. Approximately fifty counters were used, form-

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ing a "pot" from which payment was made to players as they won points. Points were calculated as follows:

Four circles paid two counters.
Three circles paid one counter.
Two circles paid no counters.
One circle cost one counter.
No circles cost two counters.

All of the counters in the "pot" had to be first removed by payment to the various players, then one player was required to win all of her opponents' counters before the game was over and she became the winner. After the "pot" was depleted, payment was made at the end of each woman's turn by an equal contribution from all others in the game. If the number of points won could not be divided equally among the others, someone would pay the difference and indicate the fact by laying aside that number of chips; the discrepancy would be made up to her later in the game. When any player lost all of her counters she was eliminated from the game. Betting seems to have been carried on independently of the counters. A pool was probably formed prior to the game, all of which went to the winning contestant.

OTHER WOMEN'S GAMES

A staring game was played by women during the winter. Sides were chosen; these sat in parallel lines facing each other. Each side selected from its number a representative. These two individuals sat in front of their respective sides and stared at each other until one of the pair smiled. Each team taunted and jeered the woman on the opposite side in an effort to make her smile and bring success to their side. Bets were placed between individual members of either team, and when the representative of one side lost, all on the other side collected their bets.

An endurance game called sqa·ni'kstam was played by women. A group formed sides of equal numbers and placed bets. Each side formed a row facing the other, with about four feet between. They all squatted on their heels and began to sing the song characteristic of this game. At the same time they started to hop up and down a distance of three or four inches above the ground, and to clap their hands, all the while retaining the squatting position. One by one the women tired out, and fell down, laughing. The side which had one or more contestants remaining after all their opponents had dropped out was the winner.

Women also played a game involving holding the breath for as long a time as possible. A spiral two or three feet in diameter was traced on a level sandy spot. The players, taking turns, sat before the figure and, while holding the breath, started at the center of the spiral and touched successive spots about a half inch apart with the tip of the index finger, moving around as many turns as possible before taking a breath. The player was carefully watched by a judge. If she skipped too far between points she was checked, and the instant that she took a breath she was stopped and the point she had reached was marked. The woman reaching the outermost spot on the spiral won. Betting accompanied the playing.

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GAMES OF DEXTERITY

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The ball and pin game was played indoors, usually in the winter, by either sex. The ball used was a composite ball and ring made of the small variety of tule (Figure 21, b). A piece of tule was folded back and forth upon itself to form a ball about an inch long. One end was looped around to form a ring, and sinew was used to wrap the point between the ball and the ring and the end of the ball. A sinew or hemp string about eighteen inches long connected the ball with a thorn used as a pin. The long thorns from the Columbia hawthorn, *Crataegus columbiana* Howell (stamo'q'), were picked while green and dried by the fire. Sometimes four colored bands were wrapped around the ring at various points. The wrapped end of the ball opposite the ring was called the "nose."

In play the ball was first placed in the mouth; this served to steady it, and to keep it damp so that the pin would not crack the tule. It was dropped from the mouth while the pin was held in the right hand, and an attempt was made to catch it with the pin. Each time the ball was dropped the player exclaimed "stsla-qo'p," ("stick"). Each time that he was successful he called the name of a month, in sequence. This custom was termed "shortening the year."

The method of counting was determined arbitrarily before the game. The relative values were usually about as follows, counting twenty points to the game:

> Any point on the ball credited one point.
> "Nose" of the ball credited two to three points.
> On the ring credited three to five points.
> Inside the ring credited ten to fifteen points.
> On a colored band on the ring (when used) credited twenty points, or game.

This game was very popular; it served to while away many of the long winter hours.

Several games of the general hoop and pole variety were played by the Sanpoil. The most common one was played in a shallow, levelled depression formed in the ground, about six feet wide, sixteen feet long and eight or ten inches deep. At each end a log four or five inches in diameter was placed and held in position by stakes. The hoop was a wooden ring four to six inches in diameter (Figure 22, a). It was carefully wrapped with buckskin and crossed with two buckskin thongs. On these thongs were strung pierced pieces of shell of various colors. They were secured against movement along the thong and separated from each other by wrappings of buckskin. Four other pieces of shell projected from the inside of the ring, also fastened with buckskin. The pole used was three or four feet long, and a half inch in diameter, made of hardwood and tipped with bone. The pole was wrapped at intervals of a few inches with bands of buckskin.

Only two players could participate in the game at one time. Sometimes teams were formed and the players alternated. The spectators decided by lot which of the players should first roll the hoop. Then the two stood together at one end of the plot and the one selected rolled the hoop toward the other end with an

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524 underhand swing of considerable force. Immediately both players made ready with their poles which they grasped in the right hand. Occasionally the thrower used his left hand to avoid changing over. The players followed the ring as it rolled down the plot. As soon as it hit the log at the end and started to roll back the contestants threw their poles along the ground, each attempting to place his

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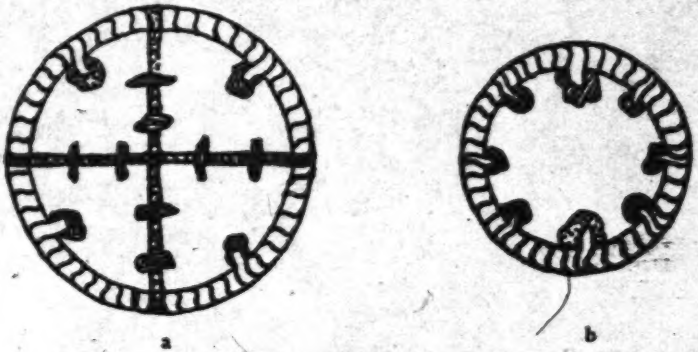

a b

FIG. 22. Rings used in hoop and pole games.

524 in a position so that the ring would topple over the top of it. If the ring fell free of the poles it counted no score for either player. If it fell against one of the poles the score was computed by the position of the shell markers on the ring and the buckskin bands on the pole. The pendant markers on the ring counted more than the stationary ones on the cross strings, and the bands near the ends of the pole counted higher than those near the middle. Certain unusual combinations netted the player a very high score. For instance, if two of the markers on the circumference happened to rest on a band at the extremity of the pole the game was practically won. At times a single game lasted only a few minutes. In other cases it lasted an hour or more.

Players alternated in rolling the ring. The score made by each was kept with small wooden counters. Spectators acted as judges; my informant stated that their decisions were never questioned, although judgments were often difficult to make. It was sometimes necessary to blow the dust away from the ring before a decision could be made.

The players placed bets with each other on the outcome of the games. The spectators, as well, placed bets on their favorite players.

This game was played only in the summer, and exclusively by men.

A variant of the hoop and pole game described above, played in the same manner but with a different type of ring, was called suluqula'uxam. This ring was smaller, about two inches in diameter (Figure 22, b). The core was made of clay rather than wood. It was desirable to have a ring as heavy as possible for its size, hence clay was superior to wood.[3] The clay core was either moulded from

[3]Since the advent of the whites, iron rings have been used.

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wet clay or cut from a block of dry clay. Around it was wrapped several layers of rawhide to provide strength. First a thin narrow band of green hide was wrapped around the core. On this had been strung eight beads of various colors, arranged so that they would fall at points equidistant on the inside of the ring. Beads were pieces of shell, pierced to take the cord, and colored. On top of this first wrapping others were placed, of heavier, wider rawhide. The beads, of course, were allowed to project between the windings. The hide was wet when wound so that it would be tight and stiff when dry. 524

The colors of the beads followed a definite sequence. Two of them, separated by three others, were larger than the rest. These may be called numbers one and five, in which case the colors were as follows:

1. pa'ik	5. ṗu·'m
2. q̇wa'i	6. qwi'n
3. qwa'i	7. kwɪ'l
4. kuɣa'i	8. xɛ'n[4]

No cross-strings were provided on this ring. The pole used was the same one previously described. If the pole went through the ring no score was made. If the ring fell on a portion of the pole where there was no band the score was computed from the value of the beads alone. An additional score was won if any bead touched a band; this score was figured according to an arbitrary, pre-determined standard. It was necessary that a bead actually touch the pole before it was counted. No point on the ring which was not beadedwas of scoring value. If more than one bead touched the pole, their respective values were added in determining the score. The relative values of the beads, on a basis of 150 points for a game, were as follows:

1. 50	5. 50
2. 10	6. 10
3. 25	7. 25
4. 20	8. 20

Another hoop and pole game of quite a different nature was called lɔla'usəm. A hoop about ten inches in diameter was formed by splitting a maple limb while green, bending it into a circle with the flat side turned inward, and splicing the ends together with deer sinew. The poles were made of willow, about four feet long and not over an inch in diameter. A limb was selected with a fork on one end which was left intact, forming the butt of the pole, or one end of a straight limb was split and forced apart. Several poles were required for each player.

Two or more players participated. Any level plot of ground served as a playing field. A player rolled the ring down the field and threw a pole after it. The object was to pierce the ring and cause it to fall at a point as far distant as possible. If one player failed another attempted. When one succeeded in piercing and felling the ring he twisted his foot on the ground to mark the point where he stood. An opponent then stood in the same place and attempted to pierce the

[4]Sanpoil color terms are described on page 224.

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524 ring as it lay, raised from the ground only by the thickness of the pole. He threw his poles one by one, losing a point for each failure, until he succeeded, or lost all of his counters, which numbered twenty or twenty-five. A successful throw entitled him to roll the hoop. The game continued until one side or one individual won all of the counters.

This game was played by both men and boys, in the summer time.

In a game called lala'mi'nam the same poles were used as in the preceding game, lala'usam, and a similar field was required. A target on the ground was used in this case. Any object, such as a piece of tule, served as a target. Any number of players participated. Each, in his turn, stood on the same spot about thirty feet from the target and threw one pole as close to it as possible. After all had thrown, the one whose pole was nearest the target (that is, any part of the pole, unless the point was previously specified), won one counter. The first contestant to win ten counters was victor.

This was a man's game, and accompanied by betting.

A variant of the preceding game, called by the same name (lala'mi'nam) was played by children as well as adults. The same pole was used, but the point was sharpened. The poles were thrown so that they would stick in the ground. The first participant set the mark with his pole. Others attempted to come as near to the first one as possible. If a pole fell to the ground it became the property of the first player, and its former owner was eliminated from that game.

A bow and arrow game was played by both boys and men.

Slings were used by men and boys in a game, the object of which I am uncertain, but distance or the hitting of a target was probably involved. The sling was made of buckskin and Indian hemp cord. The buckskin piece had one hole for holding the pebble and two small ones in each side through which the string was tied. When it was desired to let the stone fly the cord attached to one side was let loose, the other held. Another device for throwing stones, serving to increase the effective length of the arm, was a thin paddle like stick of willow. The length was about eighteen inches. The end against which the pebble was placed was shaved very thin.

A limited number of sleight of hand tricks was performed. A string, wrapped around the fingers, wrist or arm was so looped that in pulling it free it apparently passed through the limb encircled.

Cat's cradles were made as a pastime by adults, and for the amusement of children. Tipi, owl and rabbit were some of the designs.

ATHLETIC GAMES

526 Shinny was usually played only by boys, but occasionally adults, both men and women, participated. A level field of considerable length, at least 200 feet, was required. The goals were marked by robes laid at either end of the field, or holes were dug in the ground. The ball was made of buckskin stuffed with grass; it was the size of the ordinary baseball or smaller. At the beginning of play the ball was placed in the middle of the field, either on the ground or elevated some-

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
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what on a mound of earth. One member of each team stood opposite the other, with the ball between them. The stick used was simply a tree branch of any kind with a crook at the bottom. Each of the two players struck at the ball when the signal was given, and started it in motion. The ten to thirty players forming each side attempted to drive the ball past the opponents' goal. No player was allowed to touch the ball with either hand or foot. Skilful players were stationed near the outside of the field; poorer ones near the center. When one team drove the ball past the opponents' goal two out of three times they won the game. The victors customarily challenged the bystanders to produce a team that could defeat them.

Shinny was played only during the spring, at which time it was very popular. Double ball shinny was not known.

Marathon races for distances of twelve to sixteen miles were run by teams composed of two or three men. The man who finished first brought victory to other members of his team as well, though they may have fallen out long before (which was usually the case; ordinarily only one man from each team finished). Bets were placed by the participants and others prior to the race.

Races to the tops of nearby mountains were also common. Each individual vied with every other one; teams were not formed. The race did not include the return; the one first to reach the top was winner.

Races between two picked runners to a point about a mile and a half distant, and return, were popular and were accompanied by liberal betting. The halfway point was marked by a pole or a tree, around which the contestants were required to run before starting the return lap. At this point betters gathered to encourage their runners as they passed. Well known runners were often challenged by members of other villages. Sometimes women ran in such races.

Jumping contests included the running broad jump, standing broad jump and the high jump.

A gymnastic trick involving jumping was performed by grasping the ends of a stick about two feet long, holding it downward at arm's length, and attempting to jump over it. Another trick consisted of holding a similar stick tight against the back of the ankles while a jump of as great distance as possible was made.

Another gymnastic trick, comparable to "skinning the cat," was executed by grasping one end of a stout pole about five feet long, placing the other end firmly on the ground with the pole slanting, rigidly extending the body to form a ninety degree angle with the pole, and retaining this position while completely rotating the body.

Weight lifting and weight putting were among the oft repeated tests of strength. Stones of various sizes served as weights.

In another game of strength two contestants sat opposite each other on the ground with the soles of their feet touching. Both then grasped a short stick, one individual placing his hands next to each other in the middle while the other's were on the outside. Each pulled with all his strength, with the object of raising the other from his position. This contest was occasionally accompanied by betting.

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526 Teams of men or boys engaged in tugs of war, presumably of the sort where a pole was pushed.

Swimming was a popular summer pastime, and also formed the basis of many contests. In winter good swimmers sometimes challenged each other to swim across the Columbia river, an exceptional feat at that time of the year. Canoes accompanied the swimmers to avoid risk. Only the most hardy swimmers were successful.[5] The usual style of swimming resembled the common breast stroke. The arms were never raised above the surface; the legs were successively flexed and extended, or not used; the hands were kept open. Swimming on the back was practiced also. Swimming often involved diving, but high diving did not constitute a sport. Definite swimming sites were recognized. Certain ones belonged to men, others to women. Members of opposite sexes did not swim or bathe together, under pain of lashing.[6]

Wrestling was a sport often indulged in during the summer. Certain men had reputations as able wrestlers. Matches were usually public exhibitions held on the shinny grounds. The participants made bets with each other and the audience bet among themselves. The victor, in addition to winning his bets, was privileged to turn upon his opponent and cuff or kick him without the latter offering any resistance. The amount of punishment to be meted out by the winner was agreed upon before the match. Any kind of a fall ended the bout. A man might only go to his knees but that caused him to lose.

CHILDREN'S GAMES AND PASTIMES

524 857 Girls and boys played together; the sand banks along the Columbia were favorite playgrounds. Here children "played house" much in the manner of white boys and girls. Outlines of houses were drawn in the sands, and crude pictures were traced out with sticks or the fingers. Somersaults, walking on the hands and standing on the head were practiced. Boys threw pieces of rotten wood in the river and attempted to spear them with sharpened sticks. Miniature animals, baskets, pots and the like were cut from pieces of clay taken from the nearby banks. Animals were also made of small sticks, split and bent to form a crude image.

Girls alone played with dolls, which they made themselves. A stick formed the basis of the body, around which was wrapped grass and then buckskin. This was surmounted with a pebble to form the head, also wrapped, and bound to the body with buckskin. Sometimes a head was modeled of soft clay and secured to a body of the same sort.

Boys made and played with two styles of tops. One was obconical, designed to be spun with a string. It was fashioned from one of the hard woods, or provided with a hardwood shaft. The other was a disc top, large in size and spun by twirling between the palms. The disc was made of bark and measured about four inches in diameter; the hardwood shaft was about six inches long.

[5] See page 136.
[6] See page 54.

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524 857 Hide and seek, hobby-horse (using plain sticks), and teeter-tottering on logs were other diversions of children. Whistles of willow were made for both boys and girls.

During the winter snow-balling was in order, and pictures, such as had been made in the sand during the summer, were traced in the snow. Tobogganing was popular; raw hides or pine boughs were used as toboggans. No snow effigies were built.

CARD GAMES AND TERMINOLOGY

524 526 104 Games of chance played with common playing cards have come into great favor in recent times. Poker and monte are especially popular. Black jack is not played. Of linguistic interest are the native terms applied to the cards and games. A few of these follow:

Ace	ntuqu's, "one-eyed"
King	ilumi'ɣum, "chief"
Queen	tuqɩlumi'luxᵘ, "feet"
Flush	sq̓aia'i', (the term applied to one side of the dice used in the woman's dice game.)
Full house	pulaxa'n, "full house"
Straight	ɣaxtɩtu', "straight"
Straight flush	ɣaxtɩtusq̓aia'i', "straight flush"
Three of a kind	kalɩli'lɩl, "three alike"
Four of a kind, etc	mu·'sɑs, "four alike," etc.
Pair	k̓ali·'us, "pair"
Two pairs	asɩlu·'laxᵘ, "double"
High, low, jack and game	kɑnumu·'sem, "I made four"
Poker	spa·'sɑm, (from "pass")
Draw poker	stxuxt'ɑ'm, "saving pairs"
Stud poker	snmɩlmɩluqua'p̓ulstəm, "stallion, bull"
Monte	sqlta·qua'm, "lay down bets"
Seven-up	sia'nɑm, "we count"
"I raise you"	ksɑxɑntcɩ'n, "I overtake you and pass you."
"I call you"	tu'imɑntcɩ'n, "I meet you."

SMOKING

276 517 Smoking (sma'uxᵘ) was practically universal among men. Women smoked also, but not commonly. Informal smoking was customary before the campfire each evening. Formal smoking accompanied shamanistic curing and assembly meetings. Tobacco used was not of the genus *Nicotiana*, but kinnikinnick, *Arctostaphylos uva-ursi* Spreng. Prolonged smoking was never practiced. Only a few puffs were taken at a time and the pipe was put away. The short smokes were not due to the strength of the tobacco, for kinnikinnick is weak. At assembly meet-

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276 ings a pipe was usually passed from left to right. Sometimes groups of men gath-
517 ered together in the evenings to smoke and talk. At such times women and children were required to stay away.

Tobacco was never chewed.

Pipes were of both tubular (suto'xmɪlxaks) and elbow (snme'nxuxtən) varieties; the elbow type prevailed. All were small in size; stems were seldom longer than three inches. Most pipes were of stone without wooden stems.

Pipe bags were made of buckskin to hold both pipe and tobacco. One type consisted of a rectangular bag of buckskin, fringed at each end, with a small rectangular opening on one side at the middle. The pipe was placed in one end, the tobacco in the other end and the opening was drawn closed with a buckskin cord through eyelets. The bag was doubled for carrying. Another type was very much longer than wide. A separate pocket was provided in each end, one for pipe and one for tobacco. It was closed at the end and doubled.

SWEATING

515 The sweat lodge was primarily a place where supernatural aid was sought
517 and the body cleansed.[7] It functioned only secondarily as a pastime and gather-
782 ing place. Sweat lodges were usually too small to accommodate more than a few persons at a time. Very often persons sweated alone. But although the sweat lodge never assumed the nature of a club house it was common for men to gather together, especially during the winter, at one or another's lodge. Here they took turns sweating, and the ones not so engaged played games and gossiped.

[7] See page 54-55.

CONCEPTS OF THE SUPERNATURAL

SUPERNATURAL ENTITIES

771 The Sanpoil divided contemporary supernatural entities possessing powers of
775 volition into five distinct categories. All of these will be discussed below but a brief description of each seems advisable here. There was first the soul, that which animated the human body. It was conceived as a visceral entity, "partitioned off in the body next to the heart." (John Tom) It could not leave the body without causing death. The native term for this concept was sux̣api'uts. When the corporeal body died the soul departed and either immediately went to the land of the dead, where it was oblivious, or stayed on earth and roamed about in the
776 transformed nature of a ghost. A ghost was called sku'susqa'. The next class was that of spirits. These existed in tremendous numbers. They were thought of as existing in the form of animals, plants, inanimate objects and physical phenomena. It was one of these that was sought by the youth on his guardian spirit quests. Once obtained, such a spirit became an integral part of one's total self. It could not be lost without serious physical consequences, often death. It was known as one's sumi'x[a]. Upon the death of an individual his guardian spirit did not disappear or cease to exist but underwent a change analogous to the transformation from soul to ghost. I have called this entity the spirit-ghost. It could be taken by a relative of the person who had possessed it as a spirit, or by a shaman, as a secondary "power." The native term for the spirit-ghost was paṗa'iut. The final category included all "dangerous beings." These were ogres, monsters, demons, evil dwarfs. The native class name was s'twana'it.

775 A soul was possessed by every human being regardless of age. Even a fetus was considered as having a soul. Owing to its intimate, indetachable connection with the body of flesh it was never seen nor was it conceived as possessing a definite
753 form. It was localised next to the heart, but was never identified with the heart.
775 In dreams and illnesses it did not leave. The loss of one's spirit caused illness,
787 but dreams were not explained in this or any other supernatural fashion. Uncon-
828 sciousness, however, was interpreted as departure of the soul. This was not inconsistent with the belief that the soul only left the body at death; unconsciousness was looked upon as temporary death. No linguistic distinction was made (itlà·'t, "dead," "unconscious").

775 A ghost was a disembodied soul but in departing from the body it took on form, which was sometimes visible. It was not necessary, however, for a soul ever to become a ghost. If certain formalized procedures were strictly adhered to by the dying man and post mortem precautions taken by his relatives, the soul proceeded immediately to the land of the dead.[1]

The land of the dead was indefinitely located in the sky, at the end of the Milky Way. The latter was called the "trail of the dead." A soul in reaching the land of the dead always traversed the trail. The destination was a place of total

[1]See pages 149 f.

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775 oblivion. Souls never returned from there, nor could they be visited. They were not thought of as continuing an active existence in that land, nor yet as being non-existent. This nirvana-like state was desirable. Every dying person hoped that his soul might make a speedy trip and not remain on the earth as a ghost.

The forms taken by ghosts were numerous. They varied from invisibility to total visibility. Most often they appeared shadowy, film-like. They were usually clothed, but the clothing was not always opaque. Sometimes the form was not complete; headless ghosts were not uncommon. Ghosts with red and blue flames in place of intestines were reputed to exist. Ghosts appeared not only at night, but also in the daytime. They never appeared to more than one person at a time. They always avoided crowds. The faces of ghosts were seldom seen for they always attempted to keep their heads turned away from human beings. Ghosts never walked but always ran with the same trotting gait, moving very rapidly. They were thought not to travel except along regular trails. If one heard a ghost coming he could step off of the trail and it would pass him by unknowingly. Ghosts never ate or drank. When not abroad in the daytime they stayed in graves. Even at night they were seen near burial grounds more often than at other places. They called and whistled to passers-by and sometimes threw rocks at them but never hit them.

A ghost was not more visible to a shaman than to a layman. As soon as seen by anyone a ghost almost immediately disappeared. A ghost frequented the vicinity in which it had existed as a soul in the body of a man. Such a locality was preferred because the country was better known and the graveyard was near. Moreover, if the person before death had hidden something but had not made its whereabouts known before dying the ghost was drawn there to watch over the object. Or a bit of hair or nail parings of the deceased, if still undestroyed, would have kept the ghost about. If the ghost remained for such a reason a relative of the dead person sometimes saw in a dream the object which was holding the ghost, and the location, whereupon it was removed and destroyed and the ghost disappeared.

A ghost suffered torment as long as it remained on earth. The uncontrollable roamings of which such existence consisted were agonising. Spirits buried with the corpse were usually responsible for these sufferings. The moans and queer noises made by ghosts were often heard at night. The lengths of time that ghosts remained on earth varied a great deal. Some disappeared to the land of the dead in a short time. These were the ones that had been held for such a reason as that described in the preceding paragraph, or because some slight misdeed had not been confessed before death. Others had to stay longer because more had been untold or a spirit had been buried with the corpse and could not be thrown off. Some ghosts never reached the land of the dead but roamed the earth for eternity. When a man failed to confess at all before death this was apt to happen.

The characteristics and peregrinations of ghosts are illustrated in the following anecdotes:

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While passing a certain grave a horseman heard someone calling. The call was repeated several times. Then the man heard someone coming behind him. His horse became frightened and started to run. The noise sounded as if something were rattling in a basket. The man fell off his horse. He ran and hid in the brush. The ghost came and passed but the man did not see it. He determined to see what it looked like. He left his hiding place, picked up a large rock, and stood squarely in the trail. Soon the ghost returned. It looked like an erect shadow. It approached the man as if he were not seen. The man crashed the rock on its head. It sounded as though something had cracked. The man then ran away. The next morning he returned and found a broken bone under the rock. (Burke)

An old man was searching for horses in the plains south of the Columbia river. He found them and started home. On the way he took a trail which was strange to him. At dusk, just as he emerged from a canyon, he heard noises which he interpreted as ghosts. Beyond a grove of trees nearby he thought he saw a fire. Then he assumed that someone was camping there. He approached with his horses and discovered a huge fire burning. But he saw no camps or horses or signs of habitation. Suddenly on the opposite side of the fire he observed a woman with long, unbraided hair, wearing no clothes. The horses reared and bounded away in the direction from which they had come. They did not stop until they were two or three miles away.

The ghost was that of an old woman who had lost her mind during the earthquake.[2] The place the old man had seen her ghost was an old deserted camp of the Spokane Indians. (Bob Covington)

A dying woman was jealous of her husband. Her husband assured her that he would not marry again after her death. The woman died. Contrary to his word, her husband married again immediately. Some time later while the new wife was sitting in her lodge someone called through the door to her. "Get ready tomorrow morning before daylight to go berry picking with me," the voice commanded. It was the voice of the dead woman's ghost. "All right," the wife answered although she did not know who it was. The following morning she prepared to leave. The ghost came and spoke through the door as previously. "Are you ready?" it asked. The woman answered that she was ready, and opened the door. The ghost was wrapped in a huge robe covering her head and tied under her chin. It led the way and travelled so fast that the woman could not overtake it. Upon reaching the berry grounds both started to pick. The ghost kept its face away from the woman, who soon became suspicious. She suddenly ran around the ghost and saw its face. What she saw was a skull. In great fright she started running back toward camp. The ghost followed in pursuit. As they approached camp the ghost called out, "It's all right; you won't live now." The woman died of fright. (Burke)

Burke was staying in a log house with several other persons. One night as soon as the light was extinguished he heard moccasined footsteps descending the trail back of the house. The footsteps continued around the house. The front door opened, then the kitchen door. The ghost banged pans and utensils in the kitchen. As soon as any member of the household made a noise the sound stopped, but only for a short time. In the silence the ghost was heard breathing heavily just outside the door. The disturbance continued all night, but no one investigated. Burke left early the next morning. (Burke)

[2] See page 108.

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539 775 A friend of Johnny Boyden's died. A few days later Boyden was splitting kindling in his house when he heard a step on the porch. In a moment the door opened and the ghost of his dead friend walked in. It was dressed just as the corpse had been dressed when buried. Boyden backed out through two doors and ran to the barn but was too frightened to stop for his horse. Instead he ran out through a field in which he kept his cattle. The ghost was in pursuit. The cattle were scared and bawled loudly. Boyden ran a mile to a neighbor's house and fell in the doorway exhausted. He could not tell what had happened until morning. The experience made him ill. (Burke)

775 There were skeptics who refused to believe that all noises conventionally attributed to ghosts were so caused. Burke scoffed at most of the ghost tales. He told of one occasion when queer noises were heard in the attic of the house in which he was staying which caused all the other occupants to move elsewhere. But Burke stayed and one night caught a pack rat in the attic when he was investigating. The sounds were never heard again.

776 825 [823] [821] Conceptually, spirits were always non-human beings. Most commonly they were animals. Every animal known functioned to a greater or less extent as a spirit which might play the role of guardian to human beings. However, certain ones assumed that role much more often than others. Inanimate objects possessed spirits—universally in theory, but to only a limited extent in practice. Rocks, particularly ones of unique shape, and lakes and mountains, not uncommonly acted as guardian spirits, but trees and plants seldom if ever functioned similarly. However, driftwood, a particular log, or such man-made articles as fish traps had spirits that became guardians. Natural phenomena only occasionally appeared as spirits. Whirlwind and clouds were more often spirits, perhaps, than other such phenomena. Heavenly bodies did not become guardian spirits. There was no hierarchy of spirits although some were consistently more powerful than others. Among these were grizzly bear, wolf, badger, skunk, flying squirrel, pack rat, spider, chicken snake, periwinkle, hawk and eagle. Certain of these and some others were considered both powerful and dangerous, and were usually possessed by malignant shamans. They included the grizzly bear, wolf, cougar, badger, weasel (in summer fur), eagle, hawk and rattlesnake. Weasel was one of the most dangerous of these. Other spirits were known as weak in power. Only a few spirits were consistently weak; the most prominent were rabbit and magpie. Spirits that were sometimes weak and at other times strong included the mouse, ground hog, muskrat, fish (all species), meadow lark, duck and goose. It is apparent from these groupings that size and physical power of an animal as such did not determine its strength as a spirit. Even the most insignificant insects often were very powerful as spirits. Such powers were sometimes a result of diminutive size which, for example, made concealment easy in the face of danger. Or spirits of this nature were sometimes great strategists, thus compensating for lack of physical strength. If possessed of great power a tiny animal might pose as a larger one, for instance, grizzly bear, when conferring its patronage upon a human being, in which case its guardianship would be as effective as if the allegation were true. On the other hand truly weak spirits sometimes pretended to confer powers which they did not

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776 possess. Powerful spirits did not always bestow the maximum of their powers upon all to whom they became guardians. The true efficacy of a spirit as a guardian depended entirely upon the message conveyed to the individual at the time of the quest in which certain specific promises and abilities were usually given. The place at which a spirit was seen had some effect upon its strength In the high mountains animal spirits had the combined powers of their natural selves and the mountains beneath them.

Some spirits were conceived as representative of the genera to which they belonged, whereas others were representative of individual animals or things. In the former case many persons might possess the same spirit as guardian; in the latter only one might. Spirits of the general type were more common. As specific spirits, even dead animals or parts of animals served. For instance, one of the guardian spirits of a man named Bear was a certain dead horse which he had seen on the shore of a lake.

Although spirits were never human beings in concept, upon appearing to human beings they always assumed human form. They retained that form until departure, whereupon their true forms were resumed. An attempt was usually made by the spirit to conceal this transformation by disappearing behind the person's back. In any conversation between a human being and a spirit the true identity of the latter was usually revealed. Spirits were not often seen. During quests, in dreams, at the winter dances and at times of trouble they sometimes appeared but seldom at any other times.

753 The loss of one's spirit always resulted in serious illness and eventually death.
776 If a lost spirit could be found and brought back its owner immediately became as well as ever. It was within the power of a shaman to steal the spirit of anyone less powerful than he, either for himself or for someone else. It was in this manner that spirits were most commonly "lost." A spirit could be brought back only by a shaman more powerful than the one who had stolen it. A man usually lost his spirit or spirits when he became old and decrepit. Spirits were attracted by good looks and a strong body; they deserted one when he lost these qualities. Another manner in which a spirit might be lost was by being buried with a corpse. Spirits, as mentioned above, were strongly attracted to graves. A buried spirit was lost to its owner, who soon died, but followed and tormented the ghost of the person with whose corpse it had been interred.[9]

776 It may appear that in the foregoing discussion of spirits a subjective element—the guardian aspect—has been included unnecessarily in an objective description. It should be said in this connection that spirits were only considered by the native in their function as guardians. It was granted that every animal and thing potentially possessed a spirit. But of those spirits that never became patrons of human beings nothing was known, nothing was said. They were never seen and never caused any of the happenings in the universe. As merely potential beings they were of no interest to the Sanpoil.

The spirit-ghost appears, at least to our present knowledge, to have been a somewhat unique concept. The guardian spirit of the Sanpoil was not a detached

[9] See page 151.

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761 entity with which occasional communion was held and which at other times led a separate existence. Rather it was an intimately associated part of one's ego
776 which could not be lost without disastrous results and which, though seldom seen, was ever present. It is thus understandable that the fate of one's spirit after the death of the body was as great a concern as the fate of the soul. The belief was that the soul and spirit departed simultaneously from the fleshy body as soon as death came. The spirit became a ghost in form very similar to the ghost of the soul, but in character very different. It is interesting that the after-death form of the spirit was anthropomorphic whereas it was derived from an animal or inanimate object. It is true, of course, that spirits often assumed human form, but they always retained, as spirits, their true natures. The spirit-ghost, on the other hand, was almost completely void of its original characteristics (except for its powers) and used not its original generic name but referred to itself by the term for spirit-ghost or a relationship term applied to the dead person who had possessed it.[4]

776 Spirit-ghosts and soul ghosts were not always distinguishable in their ethereal forms. There was undoubtedly often confusion in the minds of natives as to whether the figure in a particular anecdote was a soul ghost or spirit-ghost. A spirit-ghost was easily killed; an arrow shot at one never missed. At the spot where one had been killed there was always found a human scapula.[5] Indeed, the native term for spirit-ghost, papa'iut, meant scapula. The following tale accounts for the name:

539 Three men were going along the Sanpoil river near the Columbia one time. They were on a narrow trail between a cliff and the river. The trail led to an open meadow a little farther along. Just at this place, whenever a traveller came along, ghosts of spirits would chase him. It was about sunset and the men were half way from the cliff to the flat. They began to hear footsteps behind them. They got louder and louder. The second man looked back but could see nothing. The noise got louder and they could hear the hard breathing of the ghost. They began to run and soon were away from the place.

But the third man said that he was going to go back and shoot the thing. He picked out his poorest arrow, and went back, just at dusk. When he reached the place he heard the footsteps again. This time he didn't run. He looked around and saw a shadow coming toward him. He stood still and waited until it was right up to him. Then he drew his bow and shot. He heard it hit something with a thud. Then he turned and went back to camp and told them that he had killed the ghost down by the river.

The next morning the men from camp went down to the place where he had shot. On the ground they found a piece of a man's shoulder blade with the arrow straight through it. They took the bone, broke it in two and buried the pieces and the arrow on the hill.

Since that time ghosts of spirits have been called "scapula." (Bob Covington)

776 The spirit-ghost functioned as a secondary power or guardian in the same manner as an ordinary spirit. But its acquisition was a very different and dangerous procedure. Such power was never voluntarily sought and was available

[4]See page 169.
[5]But cf. the anecdote on page 171.

776 only to a close relative, usually a son, of the deceased person. To him the spirit-ghost, in the guise of the deceased, appeared in a dream and asked to be accepted. This usually happened within a year after the death of the spirit's owner. The spirit-ghost spoke to the dreamer in the following tenor: "I am your father. I want you to imitate me. I'll do good for you if you will do good for me. I'm lost now and I want you for my master." A specific instance was that of John Tom. His father died while John was yet quite young. He had been Salmon Chief and had Chinook salmon as guardian spirit. The spirit-ghost appeared to young Tom, who later became Salmon Chief.

You are my son. I want to talk to you. After I leave you always remember me. I have power over one thing. When you need food go down to the stream. Build a trap. You can always catch me.

753 The one addressed was not privileged to reject the proposal without becom-
756 ing seriously ill. And yet, acceptance too, involved unavoidable illness unless one's
776 former power were greater than that which he was to receive from the spirit-ghost. Such illnesses necessitated calling a shaman. A person sometimes became similarly ill without having had a dream. After a diagnosis the shaman might declare the illness to be the effect of a spirit-ghost visitation. In either case the shaman's immediate object was to remove the spirit-ghost. This was done in the usual manner of drawing out. In the case of a very strong spirit-ghost the process was a very difficult one. In the meantime the patient suffered great agony. The illness was similar to that caused by a visitation of an ordinary spirit, but more intense. Once removed, the spirit-ghost might be destroyed, taken by the shaman or returned to the patient. The shaman often appropriated a desirable spirit for himself without obtaining the consent of the patient. The latter had no recourse because his powers were less than those of the shaman. Very often the spirit-ghost was destroyed at the request of the patient. This was done by washing it away in water or blowing it away. When the patient desired the return of the power the shaman blew it back at him. If a person kept the power he paid the shaman a large fee for his services. On the other hand, if he offered it to the shaman the latter made no charge.

152 But spirit-ghost power was more often relinquished than kept. While the
431 additional power was always helpful it was also often dangerous even after it had
753 been "conquered" by the shaman and returned. An older spirit, for instance,
776 might be driven away by the new power and illness result. Moreover, upon taking a spirit-ghost a person had to sing the new song for several days following, and at the next winter dance sing it in public and at the same time give away many presents. The acceptance of these presents did not involve reciprocal gifts. Nor was this the only time that presents without return had to be given. Upon every subsequent use of the spirit-ghost song gifts had to be distributed. The spirit-ghost sometimes designated what presents were to be given at winter dances. The message was given in a dream and was always accompanied by an illness—a feeling of lonesomeness—similar to that caused by ordinary spirits but more severe.

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431 753 776 The spirit-ghost appeared and spoke, for instance, as follows: "You! Go to the dance. Take with you your best horse and give it away. Look ahead. See those goods; see that food there. You will get all that in return." The orders of the spirit-ghost had to be followed in order that one might become well but the return promised was seldom forthcoming. Spirit-ghosts were characterised as "greedy" by Burke. Presents were given, it is true, when an ordinary spirit song was used at the winter dances, but specific presents were not demanded, return was more certain and the illness was less severe.

776 778 Dangerous beings lived in the mountains and in bodies of water. Those inhabiting the mountains were usually giants capable of stepping from one mountain top to another. They were seldom seen but often were heard rustling the trees and bushes. They roamed about at night and stole fish from fish traps and game from caches. They twisted up the tethering ropes of horses and tied their legs together. Sometimes horses were found crushed to death at the foot of a cliff where they had been thrown by these giants. Some of their pranks were harmless and amusing. Horses came home dripping with water that had been thrown on them by these beings. At other times they stole saddles and placed them backwards on horses. Or they tied large sticks on horses' backs in the fashion of packs. These giants, which Burke thought were about twenty feet tall, wore no clothes but were covered with hair. They lived in caves in the mountains where they slept during the daytime. Some had a characteristic odor similar to that of skunks, others, to burning cloth. Dogs barked at the former and came away smelling like skunks. In recent times giants have been successfully scared away by shooting at them with guns.

539 For many mornings no fish were found in the fish trap at Sanpoil, but there were signs of many fish having been there. All agreed that a dangerous being had stolen the fish.

One morning an old woman was gathering wood. Suddenly she came upon a large fire. All about she saw roasted sides of salmon scattered, but no back bones or heads were in sight. Then she discovered a huge black giant, twice as large as any man, lying asleep. Around him was a strong odor like a skunk. She backed away very frightened. She dropped her load of wood and ran. At camp she told what she had seen. Thirty strong men went back to kill the giant. When they found him they jumped all over his body. He woke up and brushed them off as though they had been flies. Then he disappeared in the woods. The men found the backbones and heads of the salmon where the giant had thrown them away. He had only cooked the best of the parts of the salmon. They started to gather up the roasted flanks but had to throw them away again because they had the same disagreeable odor as the giant. (Burke)

A man was once camping in a desolate place. Suddenly across his camp fire he saw a giant. He fainted and fell backwards. He regained consciousness the following morning. His camp fire had disappeared. He was sick for two or three days from the strong odor. (Covington)

776 778 One of these beings, said to resemble an animal in some ways, was called specifically tsa'a-'tɬamxᵘ. It had never been seen. It had a weird staccato cry

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which caused those who heard it to lose their minds. A person so affected wandered about without knowing where he was, tied his hair in knots, forgot how to dress himself, laughed hysterically and recognized none of his friends. Such a person was not dangerous, however, and could be returned to normality by shamanistic treatment. 776 778

Dangerous beings dwelt in many of the lakes in Sanpoil and surrounding territory. The being in Omak lake (sməq̓aie'tkᵊ territory) was a nude woman with long flowing hair which covered all of her body except her breasts. Sometimes she rose out of the water. Whenever she went down again the water immediately rose several feet and drowned anyone at the edges of the lake. In Lake Annum[6] lived a huge being of uncertain form. "It was as big as a house." (Covington) Malignant beings were present also in Blue lake, a large body of water in Moses Coulee near the dry falls.

One day an excellent swimmer started from the shore to swim to the island in the middle. When he was half way to the island he suddenly went down. Nothing more was seen of him for two or three weeks. At the end of that time his skeleton was found on the shore of the lake, on the side opposite that where he had disappeared. Only the bones were found; not a trace of flesh was left on them. The flesh had not rotted off; three weeks was not long enough for that. It had been eaten off by the dangerous beings that had drawn him down. (Covington)

A native never went nearer these lakes than was necessary. They were never used for fishing or swimming.

THE MYTHOLOGICAL ERA

The Sanpoil origin myth was brief but succinct.

Sweat Lodge was a chief long, long ago; but he wasn't called Sweat Lodge then. He was just called chief. He decided to create all the animals and all the birds. So he created them and named them all. He named each animal and each bird. Then he told each one of them: "In times to come, when people have been created, they will send their children out, during the day or during the night, and you will talk to them and tell them what they will be able to do when they grow up. You will tell the boys that they are to get things easily, are to be good hunters, good fishermen, good gamblers and so on. You will tell the girls that they will be able to get things that they want easily. At that time I will be Sweat Lodge, myself." 539 773

Then he spoke to them again: "I'll have no body, no head, nor will I be able to see. Whoever desires to construct me will have the right to do so. The one that builds me may pray to me for good looks, or whatever he may wish—the one that made me. I'll take pity on him, and I'll give him what he requests—the one that made me. People may approach me thus: If anyone is injured, or if he is sick, or if he is poisoned, he may come to me for help and I'll give it to him. Also, when anyone is dying, he may come to me and I'll help him then also. I'll help him to see the next world. So in this world I am Sweat Lodge, for the help of human beings."[7]

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[6]This lake is locally called Buffalo lake by both natives and whites. The name was given to the lake by the early whites after learning the native tradition of the dangerous being. They said that the lake had the Indians "buffaloed," a colloquialism meaning duped.

[7]Told by Jim James, interpreted by William Burke.

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Beings in mythological times resembled the spirits of the subsequent period in that they had the physical and psychological characteristics of animals, but for the most part existed in the form of men. Mythological beings did not seek spirit power; they had it inherently. They could change from their man-like forms to their animal forms as freely as spirits themselves. Indeed, "when people came on earth" the mythological beings *became* the spirits.

Like other Plateau peoples, the central figure in Sanpoil mythology was Coyote, the trickster-transformer. Bob Covington explained in narrative style the place and characteristics of Coyote in the mythology:

> In the beginning, a long time ago, Coyote was a man. He went about helping the people. He was interested in their fortunes and he did a great deal to make life better on earth. It is hard to tell what a miserable place the world would be now if Coyote hadn't changed things as he did.
>
> Fox was Coyote's friend and adviser. Whenever Coyote was in trouble he called on Fox to help him, and usually he did. Coyote nearly always took the credit though. He would say, "Oh, yes, I knew that all the time."
>
> Coyote was sometimes tricky and sometimes foolish. Most of what he did was for the best, though. He made several trips up the Columbia river, usually starting from Astoria. Many things happened on these trips and there are lots of stories about them. On the last trip, when he reached Kettle Falls, he was just an ordinary animal coyote.

Raven, the trickster-transformer of the Northwest Coast appeared in a few myths. But he retained only a faint suggestion of the character that enshrouded him on the coast. He was a great chief and shaman but not a culture-hero.

Certain mythological beings consistently possessed shamanistic powers. The principal ones so endowed were: Badger, Skunk, Ground Hog, Otter, Bull Frog, Sucker, Grizzly Bear, Wolf, Wildcat, Lynx, Raven, Eagle, Owl and Chicken Hawk. It will be noted that this group coincides at many points with that of the most powerful spirits.

Many of the geographical and geological features of the country were determined in mythological times. Coyote was usually responsible. He made Kettle Falls, the rapids throughout the length of the river, and changed the course of the river from the Grand Coulee to its present channel. Two beings fighting over a girl turned to mountains, Mt. Chopaka and the adjoining one.

The presence of death without possible reanimation in the world of human beings was the outcome of a struggle between a great chief and Raven. Each wanted his own children to come to life again after dying, but neither would give in to the other.

After a council among the mythological beings it was decided that a sun and moon should be made. Many beings offered to serve, but none was satisfactory until two boys, one made of a stone chip and the other of roots, were tried. They were selected.

Grizzly Bear, Ice, Blizzard and Steelhead Trout (female) were dangerous beings in mythological times. Coyote subdued each one by trickery and changed their characteristics to those they now possess.

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DEITIES

776 Sweat Lodge was the one entity possessing the characteristics of a true deity.[8] He was the creator of the animals and spirits, and perhaps of human beings, and established the fundamental order of things. He was a benevolent deity and answered the prayers of all who entreated him. It was only necessary to sweat and pray in song. He was addressed both as Sweat Lodge, kwi'lstən, and as grandfather, t́opi'a. Each person had a Sweat Lodge song which he alone used. Examples follow, with free translation:

776 xananana' n···ana, etc.
539 (meaningless)

t́opi'a sxe'lams kwi'lstən mətsələq'pusts i·sts koka'us.
Grandfather, do that, Sweat Lodge, (make) come true what I ask.

xá'n i·'mát. yaya't i·'s stsaki'nx^{u} isətxano'mtx^{u} ka'm'
I am your grandson. Everyone who is ill, who may be injured or

i'sats kei'lt ulxwimi''stamans u'l xali'txt́ams i't ixtsxa'sts
sick, they go to you and ask you for relief

u'l xwi't'salt^{u} ixtsli'mtc.
and you give happiness.

yaya't isti'm ku'ləntəm ɛ'l təmxu·'lá u'lku·'lənst
Everything was created in this world and created

á·nui' u'l u'mənst ákskwi'st kwi'lstən ku'klən
you (were) and called named Sweat Lodge, to

xastá'ns iske'lux xa·'ltamxulau'
help people in this world.

776 Such were the formalized portions of the songs. The benefits sought were
782 expressed extemporaneously after the formal introduction, but always to the tune of the song. If great favors were asked the sweat lodge was often visited and the requests repeated. Good health, good fortune in hunting and gambling and assistance in love were the entreaties most often made, but help of any kind could be sought in this fashion.

The sun was looked upon in a vague sort of way as a deity but was of slight practical importance. In the winter the children removed the frozen ice from receptacles containing water and, without breaking it, threw it toward the sun. At the same time they prayed to the sun for warmer weather.

778 Fire was another element which held power for causing good or evil. It was
782 not prayed to for help, but pacified and appeased lest misfortune result. Before each meal a few bits of food were placed in the fire and covered with coals while

[8] See the origin myth, page 177.

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778 782 the formula, "We give you this little bit of food; as soon as you have eaten we shall eat," was uttered. This is reminicsent of the Kwakiutl practice of putting food in the fire before feasters eat.[9]

Prayers were addressed to water (the Columbia river?) for help in gaining desired ends. Upon killing a black bear a formal song was sung and prayers made to the animal.[10] A love concoction, pa'tax, was prayed to for assistance in love.[11]

Guardian spirits were never supplicated in prayer. Their help was given if they felt it was needed; it did no good to pray. But persons sometimes reminded spirits of the promises that had been made but unfulfilled.[12]

The first white men were thought to be gods. They were seen at Kettle Falls. The natives believed they had come "out of the water at the edge of the world."

DREAMS

776 787 Dreams (ske'is, skeestsu't) were not in themselves felt to be supernatural, but they were sometimes the medium of supernatural manifestations. The phenomenon of dreaming was not explained. It was not a detachment of the soul from the body.

Dreams were prophetic. If a person saw a corpse in a dream it meant that someone was to die. Or if a character in a dream announced that someone was to die the prophecy came true. If one dreamed that he would kill a deer an attempt was made the following day but the chances for success or failure were about equal. On the other hand if an old man had a similar dream and sent a young man out for the game success was more certain.

Tales of dreams predicting the coming of the whites were common. The religious teachings that they were to bring were also revealed in the same manner.

Warnings came in dreams. Danger to oneself or one's friends was indicated and could be avoided as a result.

A man once dreamed that a friend had died a year before, although actually the friend was still living at the time of the dream. It caused the dreamer much uneasiness. "He could not understand why he should dream so."

On December 16, 1929, John Tom dreamed that he was visited by a group of dwarfs whose legs "did not reach the ground." They were wearing tiny beads. He woke up before anything further happened.

In the fall of 1929, while Tom was confined to his bed, he was deserted by his son who had been attending him. For seven days he was without food or water (?). When he was found by Henry Covington he was unconscious. After being revived he told how he had seen all of his people who had died before him. "They were all piled on top of me. All of them were dead."

Guardian spirits often appeared in dreams. Most often this occurred in time of need. An example follows:

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[9] Boas, *Ethnology of Kwakiutl*, page 1331.
[10] See page 84.
[11] See page 136.
[12] In "self healing" spirits were called upon—"thought of," the native says—but were not prayed to. See page 200.

776 787 Spokane Rose, a Spokane woman, had married a Sanpoil and gone to his home to live. She was a great gambler. Her power was Wolf (ənt'si'tcən). She beat many Sanpoil men, then played with kapu's, also a great gambler. She won everything that he owned but one horse. Then one night one of the guardian spirits of kapu's, (ant, yellow jacket), came to him in a dream and told him that he could win everything back. It told him what she would do and when she would come. It was the middle of the night but kapu's got up, singing. He called some friends and told them of his dream. They sang with him. The woman came as predicted, to try to win his last horse, but he beat her. The others played with her and won also. At sunset she had nothing left.

776 778 787 Shamans often had dreams revealing the causes of illnesses of patients and means to cure them. Shamans also dreamed of impending dangers of a vague sort. After such a dream, described as "bad" (probably a nightmare) the shaman ordered all the members of his household to paint their faces, to keep on guard, and to warn others. Especial care was to be taken while traveling in the hills.

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was to deposit the object he had brought in the designated spot. Unless he had been given further directions he wandered around aimlessly, built a fire to keep warm or lay down to sleep. Burke said that the command to stay awake all night was often broken. Nor were specific directions always carried out. Those who were told to dive often became scared upon seeing the reflection of the stars in the water. Those ordered to play the stick game more often followed the directions but usually quit before long, or fell asleep. Running and shouting was not expected of the seeker. It was better to sit still and wait for a spirit to appear, than to call or pray. When too actively sought, spirits seldom came. In view of these beliefs it is easy to understand why sleeping out the night was common. The spirit seeker started back with the first rays of dawn. Upon reaching camp he said nothing to anyone but went about his usual pursuits. The old man who had sent him, however, (and others too) knew whether or not he had been successful. A successful quest was followed by a change in manner, queer actions and sometimes illness. The child who had not found a spirit was sent again after a short interval, sometimes to the same place, sometimes to another. This continued until success was achieved or puberty was reached. Sometimes dozens of vigils were kept before a guardian was obtained. As a boy neared puberty his desire to be successful in the quest greatly increased for he realised more and more the importance of possession of a supernatural sponsor. This, and the physiological changes accompanying puberty, adequately account for the fact that most spirits were found near the time of puberty.

The successful experience involved a vision or a dream. The dream was usually interpreted as a vision. I feel that the majority of experiences were actually dream phenomena. The frequency of sleeping during the vigils would naturally give rise to this. The natives speak of the experience as being "like a dream." The visionary "thought he had been asleep." Since they were not supposed to sleep while on the quest it is understandable that they did not say it *was* a dream experienced *in* sleep. The vision usually involved meeting a spirit in the guise of a human being. A conversation followed in which the spirit revealed its true identity and told the child that when he reached adulthood he would be capable of doing certain things. The spirit customarily added that in times of trouble it would aid and guard him. General powers were conferred, such as gambling skill, but also specific talents were granted, for instance skill in the stick game. Immunities were conferred; the novice was, for example, told that he need not fear arrow wounds. The message of the spirit was sometimes expressed figuratively or symbolically. If a person were told that he was to be a cloud it meant that he would be able to bring rain in times of drought. Or if told that he would be a stone it was interpreted to mean that he could not be injured. Before leaving, the spirit gave its charge a song, one entirely new and unique. While departing, it changed to its true form. The boy then "awoke" with the song running through his mind.

John Tom's parents often sent him down along the river at night while he was a young boy. He did not know what he was to do on these ventures. He wandered aimlessly along the banks of the river. One evening he met a handsome young fellow who spoke to him and asked him where he was going. John Tom

QUEST OF THE SUPERNATURAL

THE GUARDIAN SPIRIT QUEST

At an early age every Sanpoil boy sought a guardian spirit. Girls went on similar quests if their parent so desired. In the case of the boy there was no alternative. No parent would jeopardize the future of his boy by permitting neglect in this matter. Only the meanest kind of an existence could be anticipated by a young man who had passed puberty without having obtained a supernatural tutelary. Perhaps one man out of ten—certainly not more— failed in all attempts to gain a guardian spirit. Most men boasted more than one. The average woman, on the other hand, never obtained such a helper, but nevertheless led a satisfactory life. The fortunate twenty or thirty per cent who did receive spirit power, however, thereby placed themselves entirely on a par with men and opened unlimited opportunities for achievement.

Since obtaining power was of so great importance the quest—or rather, the series of quests—began early. Few individuals were fortunate enough to obtain a spirit on the first attempt. Frequently a boy began his search as young as eight years of age. Each vigil lasted but one night. The period was of this short duration, perhaps, in consequence of the extreme youth of the seeker, but it was not lengthened as he became older.

A boy did not go of his own accord. An old man, usually a relative and most often a grandfather, assumed charge of the child in this connection. He set the time and designated the place where the youth was to go. It was seldom necessary to inform him as to the object of the quest or the manner in which he was to conduct himself. All this he was certain to have learned by the time he reached eight years of age. But such general tutelage as this was often given: "Keep your ears open. Do not let a single sound escape you. If someone approaches you do not run away. Talk to him. He may have something to say to you. And do not go to sleep. Stay awake until dawn and then return." Sometimes specific directions were given. He might be told to go to the top of a certain mountain where he would find two rows of rocks arranged like players in a stick game. There he was to build a fire and sit in the middle of the row with the lesser number of rocks. Sitting there he was to go through the motions of playing the stick game. Or the lad might be given directions such as these: "Go to the shore of (a certain) lake where the water is deepest. Shout loudly three times, then dive and stay under water as long as possible." To make certain that the child visited the spot designated the old man gave him a peculiarly shaped stick, a piece of hide or some other unique object to deposit at the destination, with the understanding that its presence there would be checked later. Actually the ascertainment was seldom carried out. If objections were raised to undertaking the quest whipping was threatened.

The search was started at sunset. The seeker wore few if any clothes, even in the winter. The destination was reached as soon as possible, but the distance was usually such that the journey took several hours. The first act of the seeker

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answered that he did not know. The stranger said, "Well, you had better listen to me. I'm not a friend of yours now but I will be. I'm not who you think I am. I'm going to tell you something. When you grow up you will be lucky. If you take something from someone else you will not be caught. You will be able to get food easily. You will be favored by the women. You will be sharp-eyed. You will be able to see (know) what is going on at night. When you are in danger I will warn you." He gave him a song and left. It was Wood Rat. 159 787

Bear, when a boy, was seeking a spirit. He saw someone sitting on the top of a mound of earth. It was Cricket. Cricket said, "You see, I am sitting on top of a mountain. With one leap I'll jump down to the valley below. Then I'll spit blood. You will do the same thing." Cricket jumped down and continued, "Now whenever you get hurt, you can let out blood also, and it will cure you."

Another boy met Eel. Eel said, "When you grow up you will be able to swim long distances under water. You can dive down on one side of a lake and come up on the other."

At another time Bear was seeking a spirit on the shore of a lake. He came upon a dead horse. The Horse said to him, "You see, all of the trails lead to this lake. All of the animals come here to feed upon me. The birds do the same. See all of the feathers they have dropped around me. All of that is my property. When you are a man you will have the same luck."

A lad on a quest met Magpie who said, "My nest is built high in a tree. It is of brush. Once my enemies were shooting arrows at me. But the arrows went right through the nest and didn't hurt me. It will be the same with you." Then the boy saw Flint Rock. He said, "Arrows and bullets can hit me but they don't go through me. It will be that way with you." Then he saw Grizzly Bear. "You will be like me," Grizzly Bear said; "strong, brave and quick tempered." So he got three powers at one time.

A boy sent to play the stick game usually received gambling power if he were successful in his quest. After playing a while, the rocks which represented the other players assumed human forms and, after asking what he was doing, proceeded to play with him. Later one spoke, gave the boy power and a song, and once more became rock. 787

The lad who properly carried out the instructions for diving was supposed to find a large house far below the surface. This is suggestive of the coast belief in spirits that lived like men in houses under the water. But what happened after the house was discovered I could not learn for none of my informants had had such an experience or knew of anyone who had. It was simply one of the traditional forms. There may have been others of similar nature but they were not common.

It was not always necessary to go in search of a spirit in order that one might be obtained. They often appeared when least expected. The case of a crippled girl is illustrative. She had never been out of sight of her house, so difficult it was for her to get around. Once while she was alone there appeared a handsome young man with a green hat. It was Mallard Duck. He told the girl that she would be

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able to bring the warm spring winds (Chinook wind) at the end of the winter, and gave her a song to use. Years later she sang the song and the winds came when no one else had been able to bring them. 787

Shamanistic power was obtained in exactly the same manner and from the same spirits as other kinds of power. Any of the strong tutelaries were capable of bestowing shamanistic talents. The only difference between a vision presaging a shamanistic future and any other was in the message and the song. 756 787

John Tom's first shamanistic vision came when he was wandering along the Columbia river one evening. He was not more than eight years old. He came upon a stranger who spoke to him. "I'm going to give you some advice," he said. "You will grow up. Then, whenever you hear that anyone wants a doctor, or when anyone is sick, go to see him. Always remember me and you can make him well. Also, when you are in trouble think of me and you will be all right. Now I am through with you. You can go back home." Then the stranger flew away. It was tsu'pula, a small black bird. 159 756 787

Some time later John Tom met another stranger in a similar fashion. It was Badger. Badger said, "You will be a great doctor. If other doctors fight you (test your power) you will always win. When you need help think of me and I will fight your battles for you underground. And you will be liked by women, too."

At still another time John Tom was traveling alone along the river. He reached a rapids. There he saw driftwood floating down. The Driftwood spoke: "Watch me. I'm just drifting by." Then Driftwood gave John a song to use when curing, and a name. The name, which he did not begin to use until late in life, was xwiwi'lx^{a}, "drifting by."

Once while playing on the river bank John Tom saw a large, very white rock. It spoke to him: "When you become a man you will doctor people." It also gave him a song and a name, ťaptcani'tk^{a}, "resting on the banks."

A final guardian spirit experience came to Tom while he was traveling far from the river. He came upon an upturned canoe. On the bottom of the canoe was a piece of rock containing mica. Above the canoe, suspended in mid-air was an insect. The insect was Cricket. Cricket was singing: "The canoe is sick. The rock is the sickness of the canoe. I am going to take away the sickness and make the canoe well." Then Cricket lit upon the rock. "The rock is just like fire. I am going to take it right out of the middle (of the canoe)." Cricket bit the rock, jumped aside with it, and addressed Tom. "When you become a man you can do the same thing. You can take out sickness and cure people." The Cricket flew away.

John Tom, with his six guardian spirits and at least one spirit-ghost power, became the greatest of all Sanpoil shamans. Tom was an exceptional case, but many of his fellows possessed two or three spirits. Shamans quite consistently had more tutelaries than those who followed other pursuits. It may be that the acquisition of one shamanistic spirit spurred its recipient on to further attempts. But further attempts on the part of those who had had initial experiences of other sorts were very common, too.

A brief statement made by John Tom suggests that the lad sent out by an old man sometimes received the song and power of the latter. This depended upon the old man's "willing" that such should be the case. The child did not know from whom the power had come. This must not be construed as inheritance, 787

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for the old man was not always a relative and was, of course, still living. Nor was it the same as receiving spirit-ghost power. In this instance the seeker obtained true spirit power (sumi'xᵘ) which was relinquished by the old man. Spirit-ghost power (papa'iut) was distinctly different and existent only after the death of a person with spirit power.[1] 787

Vigils were never kept after the attainment of puberty. A successful quest was impossible subsequent to that time. The only kind of power that longer could be hoped for was spirit-ghost power. It is doubtful that an individual without spirit power of any kind would attempt to keep spirit-ghost power, with the danger involved, even though it came to him.[2]

Spirits did not occupy definite localities but roamed about the whole country. This made it impossible to predict where a spirit was most apt to be found at any definite time. Therefore the places where vision seekers were sent were selected more or less at random. There were a few favorite places. Some spot on the Columbia river was often selected. Many of the higher mountains in the Sanpoil range were frequently the scenes of quests. One of these, called sinkwa"kntən, "fire place at top," had a cleared spot at the top and boulders arranged for the stick game type of quest. Burke sought a spirit on Mica mountain. Children were not sent to the lakes where dangerous beings dwelt. These were not spirits and did not function as guardians.[3] 776 787

The results of a quest, as stated above, were not disclosed. Soon after the vision the whole experience was completely "forgotten." Informants insisted strongly on this point. The visionary, they claimed, was powerless to recall any details of the incident until he was again visited by his spirit. This did not occur until many years later, usually when the person reached twenty-five or thirty years of age. This repression for many years explains many aspects of the guardian spirit complex. By the time the spirit returned the individual had more or less definitely found his place in the community. His talents were known to himself and to others, and his character likewise. The type of activity which was to predominate in his life was usually fixed. Now none of these factors could have been determined by the person's guardian spirit experiences for they had not even been thought of since puberty. When recalled after this period of enforced forgetting the details of the experiences would naturally, without conscious falsification, be reconstructed to fit the situation in which the individual found himself established. The true situation was probably this: the spirit or spirits did not return (were not recalled) until the person was firmly established in life. 776 885

The return of one's spirit caused him to fall ill. The illness was called kutske'ləmsásumixᵘ, "spirit sickness." It came upon one gradually, usually in the early winter. It was described as a feeling of lonesomeness and despondency. A shaman was the only person who could relieve one of such illness. The patient usually knew the cause of his sickness but he did not disclose this to anyone else. When the shaman was called he began by making a diagnosis in the usual fashion. 753 756 776

[1] See pages 173 f.
[2] Cf. page 175.
[3] See page 176.

753 He soon localized the pain (or the cause of the pain). It was most often found in
756 the patient's body in the region of the heart or in the head, but sometimes it was
found somewhere in the air about him. The spirit was then removed by the shaman
776 in the customary manner, but instead of being destroyed or blown away it was blown back to the patient. But before returning it the shaman held it in his hands for a moment so that he might "hear" the new spirit song of the patient. This song he began to sing. The patient soon took it up and the shaman ceased. Sometimes the shaman sang the entire song before the patient began; at other times the song was only started by the shaman, being finished by its owner. After receiving back his spirit and his song the patient was able to leave his bed. For two or three days following he sang the new song almost continuously. The shaman remained during this time for although his patient was no longer in pain there was danger that he might suddenly lose consciousness while singing and only the shaman could revive him. Neighbors usually gathered to assist in the singing. They amused themselves when not singing by gambling and chatting or telling stories. But the patient entered into none of these activities. Nor did he eat with the others. He either observed a fast or took only such food as he had been told to eat at this time by his guardian spirit.

A spirit visitation was properly followed by an inaugural dance given by the novice.[4] Since such dances were held only in the winter (January-February) it was necessary for the shaman to use his power to "hold off" the spirit of his patient until that time if the return had taken place other than in the early winter. From the time of the initial spirit singing until the dance was given, the novice was subject to a recurrence of his illness.

The shaman's payment for treating a person suffering from spirit sickness was called xa'q̣aman. This fee was not larger than the charges for other types of illness.

152 During subsequent winters a similar feeling of loneliness was often felt but
776 it was not as intense and did not necessitate calling a shaman or giving a dance.
778 It was only necessary to sing and dance to relieve the despondency.

A novice sometimes made a power stick or spirit wand (t'aki'kstən) shortly after the return of his guardian spirit. This was done only when specifically requested by the spirit. These sticks varied from two to seven feet in length and were about an inch in diameter. They were not painted, but to them were fastened deer dew claws, bear claws, teeth, shells or beads. The sticks represented guardian spirits and some object attached was usually symbolic of the spirit.

778 Burke's maternal grandmother had one of these sticks. Hers was about thirty inches long and at the top was a cross piece five inches long. It was made of wɑʒwa'xa·'lpᵘ. The entire stick including the handle was covered with red and white beads.

The stick belonging to a man named ilɩ'ʒ was six feet long and very slender. It, too, was covered with beads, and hanging from the top were several deer dew claws. It had no cross piece.

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[4]Described on pages 189 f.

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These sticks were used for tapping time when persons were singing their spirit songs in the winter. They kept their owners from becoming "too lonesome." 152 778

Spirit power was never, in itself, dangerous to its owner. However, as Burke said, those who began to use their power in a vindictive manner and for evil purposes soon fell victim to someone with stronger power. Also, the commands given by a spirit were for a person's good and if disobeyed sickness resulted. This was not felt to be retribution on the part of the spirit. 754 787

Spirit power had to be exercised to be effective. The fact that a person had obtained a powerful tutelary did not indicate what his future fortunes were to be. If he neglected his power—did not practice the talents given him—it played no part in his life. It was necessary that a person "think" of his guardian before it would help him. The fact that persons who had been granted immunity to arrow shots, for instance, sometimes died from arrow wounds, was accounted for by saying that they could not have been thinking of their powers when struck. I was repeatedly told that one's spirit came to help him during severe illness but at such time a person was most apt to be thinking of his guardian. Individuals did not test their powers without occasion. One possessing the power mentioned above, immunity to arrow wounds, would never have another shoot at him to prove the immunity, but he might take unnecessary chances in actual combat. 787

Power could be stolen by a shaman. (This was often done at the winter dances.) The person losing his power had to enlist the services of a stronger shaman to get it back, or soon die. But power could not be traded nor could it be transferred except possibly from an old man to a young boy. However, a woman with deer power, for instance, could help a male relative on his hunting ventures by thinking about her guardian while the hunter was away. He would find game easily.

There was no tabu against killing one's guardian animal. On the contrary, the animal expected to be killed. A man with deer power was always a good hunter for the deer would come to him to be killed. When something of the genus of one's guardian was killed it was customary to keep some part to insure success on subsequent ventures. Thus a backbone of the otter, the hoof tuft of a deer, the bones of salmon or the feathers of a bird were kept and worn. From these symbols (tca'sulâ) others often inferred the nature of one's guardian.

There was some reticence about telling of one's guardian spirit experience, especially on other than ceremonial occasions. A person's experiences were nearly always told at least at the inaugural dance, but it was a person's privilege to remain silent at other times if he so desired. But the symbols worn, the dance actions, and general pursuits of an individual usually conveyed to others a true notion of one's spirit. It was not customary to tell guardian experiences during crises.

Power declined with age. With loss of physical strength and attractiveness spirits came to one's aid less and less often. At ninety John Tom no longer received help from any of his numerous guardians. He lived through a seven day involuntary fast but he did not credit his power with being responsible for his survival.

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The natives believe that the white man, with his remarkable material culture, must have strong guardians even though he does not admit it.

Following are abstracts of tales relating to guardian spirit powers:[3]

Two brothers were surrounded while in enemy territory. In order to get away each turned himself into the form of his guardian animal. One became a wolf, the other an owl. Their enemies saw a wolf running over the hill and an owl flying away. They sensed what had happened and upon investigation found their suspicions confirmed.

A man with Grizzly Bear power became wedged in a crevice between rocks while following a mountain goat. He could not escape and after two or three days lost consciousness. Later he became conscious again and found himself lying at the top of the cliff with his face painted.

The Shuswap killed two brothers and carried off their sister. The guardian spirit of one of the brothers was Wolf, the other Otter. Wolf and Otter brought the brothers to life. They started after their sister. They overtook the Shuswap but the latter discovered them. They became two wolves and the Shuswap decided they had been mistaken. That night the brothers killed all the Shuswap and took their sister back home.

A Wenatchi Indian had power to eat a great quantity of food at one time. He was challenged by a Yakima who was also a big eater. Great quantities of food were set out. Before starting each told the other of his power. The Yakima said, "When the first snow appears on the top of the hill there, he comes out of his hole. Then he eats and eats and eats, all through this valley, until the snow comes again on that hill way over across the valley; and he never gets full."

"Well, Grizzly Bear," said the Wenatchi, "they take a piece of willow, and wind it round and round, big on one end and small on the other. Then they set it upstream in the water. Water and fish and driftwood go through it all summer, and it never gets full. And there is a big lake that is very dirty and muddy. In the middle sits a little hen. She goes down to the bottom, and eats everything on the bottom; and never gets sick and never gets full."

Then they ate. The Wenatchi won. His spirits were Fish Trap and Mud Hen.

THE WINTER DANCE

Beginning about the time of the winter solstice the Sanpoil observed a ceremonial dance period lasting for two months (kumi'kutən, "time that it snows"; ktsatsa'n, "time that it gets cold"). During this period all pursuits of an economic nature were suspended.[4] Spirit sickness was common and all those who possessed spirits spent much time singing. It is hardly accurate to speak of this time as one when spirits returned except as applied to novices. For one's guardian was potentially present at all times of the year. But in winter more time was spent thinking about spirits and they stayed "closer by." The feeling of loneliness that resulted from this reflection could only be relieved by spirit singing and dancing. The only dances (stəqka'm) observed by the Sanpoil were guardian spirit performances and they were never held at any other time of the year.

[3] These are to be published in whole in the Journal of American Folklore. See also the tale on pages 83-84.

[4] One might be inclined to look upon the selection of this period for ceremonial observances as economically determined, since the inclemency of the weather precluded most economic activity, if it were not for the coastal analogue.

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Dances were sponsored either by a shaman, an initiate or one who had been commanded by his guardian to do so. The frequency of sponsorship was in the order named. There was no difference in the performance in the three cases except that the novice was initiated as a part of the ceremonies if the dance were given for that purpose. However, at dances of shamanistic sponsorship novices were initiated also if seized by their spirits during the performances. Shamans never banded together to give a joint dance. Since each dance ordinarily lasted but two or three nights it was necessary that many be given to fill the ceremonial period. An attempt was made to avoid giving dances, within a considerable radius, that conflicted in time. Every prominent shaman was expected to sponsor at least one dance each winter. Prestige depended greatly upon observing this rule. John Tom often gave two dances during one period. He continued to give at least one until about five years before his death.

Dances were held in any large mat house or in structures built especially for that purpose. Residences were sometimes temporarily enlarged to accommodate unusual numbers. Invitations were never given. News of the occurrence of a dance was spread from one to another and all except children were entitled to attend. It was customary for an entire group to travel from one dance to another throughout the season.

Only shamans or initiates were permitted to give dances without the approval of the chief. Before agreeing to a performnace by another, the chief satisfied himself that the applicant had actually been directed by his spirit to give a dance. He also made clear to the sponsor that he would be held personally responsible for any violence that might be committed. The chief then set the date and the dance was given. Dances sponsored by novices were in charge of a shaman.

In preparation for a dance the place where it was to be given was cleared of everything movable except the mats where the spectators were to sit. Assistants cut a small fir tree, one slightly shorter than the height of the dance building. The limbs and bark were removed for a distance of about eight feet from the base. Above that the limbs were permitted to remain. The base was sharpened. Thus prepared the tree was left outside the door of the dance house. It was to become the center pole. Inside the building poles were suspended about seven feet above the floor, running the length of the house, unless the framework of the building was such as to provide similar poles. These were for holding the presents. Fireplaces were cleaned and quantities of wood gathered, cut and piled near at hand.

The spectators and participants gathered shortly after sunset. The sponsor, shamans, chiefs and other important persons occupied the end of the room farthest from the entrance door. (Only one entrance was used, the other door being kept closed throughout the dance.) Other participants were scattered throughout the audience. Men occupied the side of the room to the right of the entrance; women the left. All not active half reclined on the mats.

The shaman in charge addressed the audience through a spokesman. The latter repeated in a loud voice and with appropriate emphasis that which the shaman spoke in a low, almost whispering, monotone. Several sentences were transmitted to the spokesman before he repeated them.

776 When the crowd had gathered the shaman addressed them: "Now I shall
796 proceed just as my spirit has commanded me. I shall do everything in the proper manner." Then taking a broom or brush he swept all around the center of the room, while saying, "I am doing this for my children (that is, everyone present). I hope you may never have sore feet. I hope that you will always be fleet of foot, and that dust may never get in your eyes." After this he sent an assistant outside to bring in the tree which had been made ready. Upon receiving it he erected it in the center of the room, thrusting the base in the ground as well as possible. To hold it upright he removed his belt and with it he tied the tree to the central cross beam of the roof. During the operation he said: "Now I am putting up my helper, one of my spirits, and on the top I will have Owl sit. He will be my eyes. He will look out for us, all around the country."

624 But the spirit guard was not the only one used to supervise the dances and
796 ascertain that none of the rules of conduct were broken. Persons with Owl or Bluejay power regularly impersonated their guardian spirits and guarded the dance and protected the dancers. The same persons served at place after place during the dance season. Before the first dance they removed all their clothing except the breechclout, and blackened the feet, hands and face. These qwa'skei (Bluejays) and xa'xas (Owls) did not participate in the dances or stand about as guards. They sat in the rafters of the dance building and patrolled the grounds outside. One of the principal rules which it was their duty to enforce was that prohibiting eating of any sort during the dance. Anyone attempting to eat during a dance, no matter how cautious he was, would be seen by one of these sentries who would "fly down and recover the food from the person's throat," and eat it himself. Not only was eating in the dance house prohibited but no cooking or eating in the whole settlement was allowed. If one not attending the dance began to eat the sentries immediately became aware, "flew out," and very soon returned with the food "still hot from the fire." It was displayed and the place where it had been found told, then it was thrown away. These sentries also knew when anyone was approaching the dance house and who it was but it was seldom necessary to notify the shaman of such facts for he, too, could "see" them.

796 Many other formal rules of conduct were enforced by the sentries. No one was allowed to leave the building without the permission of the leader, and then not more than one person at a time. There was an exception to this: at midnight everyone was permitted to go outside for fifteen or twenty minutes, but was required to return. Water was provided but no one was permitted to drink until after the leader, or someone designated by him, had taken a sip. The water would otherwise cause the person to choke and become ill. Smoking was prohibited while singing and dancing were in progress but not at other times.

That sentries sometimes failed to detect infractions is indicated in the following account.

A man once went out from a dance at midnight but failed to return. Instead he went to a nearby house and ate some dried venison. In a little while he became very ill. The next morning the shaman who was the dance leader visited

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him. He said, "You should have known what would happen. The food did not go to your stomach. It lodged in your throat." Then he treated him. The patient vomited the food enveloped in blood. 796

Simply to say that the sentries impersonated their spirits is not an adequate expression of the role they assumed. The natives considered them to have been actually transformed. At no time were they treated as normal human beings. They were avoided and not talked to. No matter how cold the weather they put on no more clothes, and were not thought to be affected by the temperature. The Bluejay sentries ate food of any kind without regard to its freshness or cleanliness, like their greedy prototypes. At the end of the dancing season the people laid in wait for these sentries and "captured" them, whereupon they immediately "died." Revivification was accomplished by holding them over a smudge for several minutes. Besides bringing them to life this treatment calmed their "wild powers" and they returned to normal. If this were not done they would "go wild and run themselves to death after the dances were over." 776 796

The dance proper will now be considered, and first the initiation feature. The novice was only formal sponsor of his inaugural dance. After he selected a shaman the latter assumed complete charge. The dance was begun in the usual manner. Sometime, usually early, during the dancing of the first evening the novice slowly walked toward the center pole. When about six feet away he stopped and faced the shaman. The shaman then announced to the audience that the neophyte desired that his power be brought to him at the dance house. He further stated that the spirit at that moment was at such and such a place. Then he began to sing alone the song of the novice. After a few moments he stopped, exclaimed, "Pause!" and gave a place name, indicating that he had brought the spirit to that spot. He shortly resumed singing but a moment later again named the place to which he had brought the spirit. This continued for several more steps until the spirit had been brought just outside the dance house. In the meantime the audience had remained silent and the initiate had continued to stand in the same place. 756 796 881

With the spirit just outside, the shaman ordered water thrown on the fires. As soon as they were out he started singing one of his own songs. The dancers arose and danced in the darkened room and joined in the shaman's song. After a short period the shaman stopped singing and the dancers stood still. The fires were rebuilt and when well started the shaman resumed his song. The dancers remained standing. The shaman walked over and placed his hands on the novice's head. He held them there while he continued to sing. The initiate was then in possession of his power. But it was immediately taken from him again. The shaman drew his hands over the other's body from feet to head, opening and closing his mouth at the same time. He then clasped his hands together over the initiate's head; he held the spirit in his hands. He had given the spirit to its owner for the moment to see whether or not it could be taken by him. If the recipient had not become ill in the trial the shaman gave it back to him by blowing through his hands to the person's head, then reversing the rubbing procedure of a few moments before. Immediately the initiate was filled with energy and began singing his

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song. "He couldn't help it." He still remained where he was standing. The shaman returned to the center pole, grasped it, and directed the dance which was to follow. 756 796

The dancers formed a line at either side of the initiate. The position of each person in the line was designated by the shaman. After forming, the two groups danced sidewise away from and back to the singer. While dancing they joined in his song. Sometimes the shaman gave the novice something to hold during the progress of this dance. This might be a short stick which was to be held in a certain manner, or swung from side to side, or tapped on the ground. Again it might be an arrow, gambling sticks, feather or a certain kind of food. Or the shaman fastened to his clothing a bunch of feathers or some other object. Regardless, the significance was the same. That which was given was symbolic of the person's spirit. 881

The dance continued for about a half hour. Upon a signal from the shaman all the dancers and the singer sat down and the initiation was concluded. Henceforward the neophyte held an equal place with the other dancers.

Throughout the period of the inaugural dance the initiate observed a complete fast. John Tom's first dance lasted four nights. During that time he ate no food and drank no water (!).

At non-inaugural dances an individual occasionally became ill and sought the shaman during an intermission in the dancing. If the person were mature but had never been initiated the shaman was likely to pronounce the illness a guardian spirit visitation. In such a case the same ceremony as above was observed.

Malignant shamans sometimes took advantage of initiation ceremonies over which they had charge to substitute for a desirable power belonging to the initiate some undesirable spirit-ghost power. Since it was the shaman who first sang the new song he could substitute any one he pleased. If the person objected the shaman insisted that he knew aright. As a result the wrongly initiated person continued to feel lonely and became ill. His only recourse was to enlist the services of a shaman stronger than the one who had played him false. The new shaman's first act in such a case was to request the other to return the wrongfully acquired power. If the latter did so the matter was ended and the patient became well. If he refused he was asked a second and a third time. If the refusal were repeated it became a matter of "fighting it out" with their respective powers. The shaman whose power proved the stronger won and the other died. But a shaman never took a case of this nature unless he was sure that his power was greater than that of his opponent. And it is doubtful that the opponent would refuse in the first place to return the power if he, too, felt that the power of the shaman taking the offensive was the greater. 754 756 796

Payment was made to the shaman for acting in any of the above capacities. Since the amount charged was determined by the risk, the fee for regaining a stolen power was considerably greater than that for initiation or even taking charge of an inaugural dance.

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Often on a night closely following an initiation the novice told of his guardian spirit experience. This was done during one of the intermissions between dances. Quite as often, instead of telling, the initiate invited guesses as to the identity of his guardian spirit or spirits. Presents were offered to the person making the correct guess. If the correct answer were not given the first winter the guessing might continue during the next winter or even the one following that. After a year or two, if no correct guess had been made, hints and suggestions were offered. The manner in which the spirit was dressed was told, or its actions imitated. If the nature of the guardian were still unsolved, (this could seldom have been the case), the experience was related without further ado. But if the correct name were given the spirit's owner fainted and had to be revived by a shaman. The shaman and the winner were both given presents and the entire tale was told.

John Tom was giving a dance in his dance house below Keller in the winter of 1909. George Serimpt was present. He had never danced or sung for his spirit had not returned. But suddenly he began to sing—a new song. He went to the middle of the room and called for John Tom. Tom came and took hold of the center pole. George's parents also came. They threw blankets over their son. Tom took them and placed them on the pole with the rest of the presents. Then he doctored George (initiated him). George sang his song and everyone danced. After a while they all sat down. George said nothing that night but on the next night during a dance intermission he told how he had found his spirits.

"When I was a boy I went up on Mica mountain. Up there I met Spotted Horse. He gave me a song. Another time I met Deer in the Sanpoil valley. He gave me a song too. He told me that it would be easy for me to catch deer."

During the dance he sang both of these songs. (Burke)

Exclusive of initiation ceremonies each dance consisted of individual guardian spirit songs (sankwini'm) and dances, (in which others joined after the song had been started by its owner), shamanistic tricks and stealing of spirits, and giving of presents.

The early part of the evening was given over entirely to the guardian spirit dances. Only those persons who had obtained a spirit and who had been initiated after the return of that spirit were permitted to sing and dance. Women danced with the men in the same manner, but they were, of course, in the minority. Each dancer was allowed to sing his song and perform his dance once during the night. Any one dancer could lead a second time only after every other one had been given a turn. Since the dancers usually numbered fifty or more there was seldom time for a second turn. No given sequence was followed. No one person or group of persons, even shamans, had precedence over others. Any such arrangement would have been entirely contrary to the Sanpoil principle of equality of all. It would also have been out of consonance with the *raison d'etre* of the dance: one danced when he could not restrain himself; it was hardly a volitional act.

The person preparing to dance began to sing while sitting in the audience. After singing for a moment the others joined in and the leader walked slowly toward the center pole and grasped it high up with his right hand. All continued singing for a few moments, but not in dance tempo. Then the leader slowly drew

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his hand down the pole, saying at the same time: "xoiqosyu·xlqwe'ləmxᵘ," "drop the song." Then he moved his hand back up the pole singing, "xa··yump', axo···" (meaningless), and began a new song (if he possessed more than one) in dance time, or changed the tempo of the old one. These songs did not have formulated words and most of the singing consisted of carrying a tune with meaningless syllables. But words describing guardian spirit experiences were occasionally inserted and after a time each singer more or less standardized the words used. Examples of spirit songs follow: 533 796

na··xaxa··xaxana···' aiai··xaxanai··xaixainai··· a··xuaxa··· 539 796
(meaningless)

sqwaksi'na···	u'yata'	tinksi'lux.[7]
Covered by a spider web,	I pity my	spotted (horse).

xaxawaiyuwi··xaxawiyu··xo··ai··ai··ai··· it'latcuma'qᵘ.
(meaningless) From the mountain,

it'litltca·'qi'n	it'likiltmanteu't	i·kalskalkawu'laxᵘ	kileka-
from the top	from (it) jumped	down to the foot	he lit

lle·'lux	ul a'tskasto	imal'ki'a.[8]
	and let out	blood.

a··naaui··xana··xu··xaxa··uxuiyu··axana···
(meaningless)

tisana'nuk'saxᵘ,	ikua'psulux	kaqala'p	tla'tcku·yukami'stculux
Only one,	their horse	all night	they dance for it

kaqala'p	latcitcisu'lux	alstuqtuqaniu·'laxᵘ.[9]
all night	it rattles	the ghosts (?).

When the dance song was started the leader began to dance around the center pole in a clockwise direction. The other dancers rose and danced, also encircling the pole but in either direction, except when the crowd was very large. The latter condition often forced each person to dance within only a small radius of where he stood. The dance was a simple up and down step or rather a slight jump, both feet moving at the same time. The knees were slightly flexed. The heels were kept raised but the ball of the foot hardly left the ground. The tempo was about 140 per minute. The arms hung at the sides when not impersonating spirits. When dancing in place each sex stayed on its own side of the room. When encircling the pole the group moved in one direction for a while, then reversed. Sometimes men danced with women for a moment or two, the former grasping 535 796

[7]George Serimpt's song.
[8]Bear's Cricket power song.
[9]Song of Cultus Charley.

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the latter around the waist. Singing was the only accompaniment to the dancing. Drums were never used, nor were sticks beaten. Dancing was continuous for only about two minutes, then an intermission (siuxlkwe'lam) or rest period of equal length intervened. The dancers stopped when the leader drew his hand down the center pole; dancing resumed when he raised it again. Songs were often changed after intermissions. Each leader stayed at the pole for four or five of these short periods. When he left the pole another took it after only a moment or two. [534] 535 796

The dance leader, and sometimes others, impersonated the actions and calls of guardian spirits. John Tom imitated his Driftwood spirit by dancing back and forth, a few steps at a time, as the wood had been carried back and forth in an eddy in the stream. He imitated his bird spirit by making a clicking sound with his tongue. A deer (buck) spirit was impersonated by holding the hands up at the sides with the fingers outstretched and calling "a'a···." Moving one arm and then the other forward in imitation of walking represented a deer or a horse. A horse was also indicated by holding the flexed arms in front of the body, holding the index and third fingers erect and twisting the arms and hand (horses looking around). Dancing sideways and emitting deep sounds from the throat was representative of Grizzly Bear. Elk was imitated by raising and lowering the shoulders while holding the arms vertically at the sides. A waving motion with the hand indicated Salmon. Birds in general were imitated by using the arms as if flying. Many guardians, especially Fawn, Owl, Eagle and Pigeon were imitated by their calls.

Practically every person who sang his song and led a dance contributed presents for the distribution on the last day of the dance. When one went to the center pole a relative or helper carried the presents to the spokesman who placed them on the long pole provided for that purpose. Contributing presents was not compulsory, however. Tom insisted that those who did not give were looked down upon. "But it made one feel better to give something away." Shamans, as a rule, gave more than laymen, and the sponsor of the dance gave the most of all. The number of presents continued to grow until the last moment. The distribution will be described later. 431 796

During the midnight intermission the shaman in charge remained inside the dance house alone and sang during the whole time that the others were absent. 756

After midnight the guardian spirit dances continued at intervals but a great deal of the time was devoted to shamanistic performances (skluwila'm). All of the shamans present took part in these performances. Most of the performances were the result of the appearance of a vision but regular tricks were also a part of the procedure. 796

Whenever a shaman experienced a vision all other activities were halted. The visionary conferred with other shamans to ascertain whether or not the vision had appeared to any of them. If a vision were not substantiated by anyone else the dancing was resumed. But if the same experience came a second time that was considered sufficient evidence to act upon, regardless of the others. 756 787 796

These visions followed a definite form. The guardian spirit of some outsider would appear to the shaman. He would perceive very clearly the location of the spirit and of its owner and the actions and intentions of both. Whenever a spirit was seen in such a manner it was possible to "steal" it from its owner and appropriate it for the shaman himself or anyone else at the dance, providing the powers of the shamans engaged in the procedure were strong enough. The following account, given by John Tom, illustrates well the nature of the shamanistic performance:

A dance was being held at Whitestone about 1890. Both John Tom and Bob Covington were present. For two nights they danced without anything happening. On the third night ku'lamtxəni, the shaman in charge saw the spirit of a hunchbacked gambler. He didn't say anything that night. But on the fourth night he asked the other shamans if they had seen anything. They all answered that they hadn't. "Well, maybe it was only clouds that I saw," the leader said. "Dance again and we'll see. They danced, all of the shamans joining in. After a while they conferred again. "It wasn't clouds you saw," the others said, "it was something all right." Then they prepared a little mat woven of willow twigs. It was about two feet square. They covered it with red feathers from the red-headed woodpecker (kulquila'qən). The fires were all put out. Then the mat with the feathers was held out of the door. The leader held one side. Another shaman, si'pasu, held the other side. With their free hands they motioned with eagle feathers for the spirit to come in. After a while the shamans had the fires rebuilt. "We have the spirit," they announced. The mat was folded up and put away. The following night the leader spoke. "We have the spirit of a hunchback gambler. He is from Colville. He has never been here before, but next summer he will come down during the fishing season in June. He is a great gambler but when he comes here he will lose everything he has. He will come with a gray horse, a gray saddle blanket, a black saddle, gray clothes and a big white cowboy hat. You, Covington, take his saddle, but don't take anything more. You, Tom, take his horse, but just that. (Etc.)" He gave each thing to a different person. Then he said, "We'll let him live, but we'll send him back naked." Then the dance continued.

The following summer the gambler came to Keller. But he refused to gamble. One of his own people who had been at the dance had forewarned him. He went back home after only staying one day. But a short time later he lost all that he owned to a man at home although the latter was a very poor gambler.

The particular type of performance described above was called sklu·ya'·yu, "to build a fire on a mat to bring a spirit." It was the most popular way of enticing a spirit into the dance house. The feathers "whispered, stood up and drew it in." Feathers other than those from the head of the woodpecker were sometimes used. The tail feathers of the same bird were also effective. Eagle feathers were used in the motioning because spirits liked them and came after them. Other means of drawing in a spirit were also commonly used. The particular method selected depended upon the character of the spirit and its owner. A gambling spirit was attracted by stick game bones or markers. Pretty young women were "offered" to spirits that were difficult to get. Recently brightly colored shawls often have been used.

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When possession of a spirit was once gained it was within the shamans' power to dispose of it as they wished. Usually the spirit was sent back to its owner after depriving it of some or all of its power. Sometimes the spirit of a woman appeared and was "given" to some man present. In such a case the woman fell in love with the man who received it and inevitably married him.[29] It was possible to cause the death of a person whose spirit was stolen but it was seldom elected to do so. The disposition was often left to the decision of the audience by the shamans.

A winter dance was in progesss at Whitestone. Bear lived near Keller. He thought, "I'll go to the dance tomorrow." The leader of the dance "heard his thought." He told the others and they stole Bear's gambling power. He was a great gambler in those days. The shaman asked the people at the dance what he should do with the spirit. They all said, "He is one of our people; he's our friend. We won't bother him. Send his spirit back." But the spirit was a good one and the shaman that stole it was greedy. He didn't do as the people said but kept the spirit for himself.

When Bear reached the dance the shaman asked him to gamble. He did, and lost everything to the shaman. After that anyone could beat him. He soon became very sick. Another shaman was called to doctor him. Then he found out what had happened. But Bear couldn't pay the shaman enough to get his power back.

A shaman sometimes had a vision during a winter dance in which he saw a spirit-ghost wandering about. If it were a good one he was apt to appropriate it for himself without saying anything to anyone else. If not it was formally presented to one of the dead person's relatives.

It was solely a shamanistic power to steal the spirit of another. A layman, no matter how strong his power, was unable to accomplish such a feat.

Sickness occurring at winter dances was usually caused by a visiting shaman with malignant tendencies. This never happened except when the visiting shaman was stronger than the dance leader. It was usually necessary for two or three of the friendly shamans to work together to determine the instigator of the illness and effect a cure. This was evidently one time when shamanistic powers were cumulative. The curing procedure was carried on publicly during the dance. When the malignant shaman was discovered he was in danger of his life.

Shamanistic tricks were performed during intermissions in the dance. Power sticks often figured in the tricks. A certain shaman with Otter power could easily push his stick two-thirds of its length in the hard ground which formed the dance floor. He would do this and then offer a horse to anyone who could pull it out. After everyone had failed he would name some small boy who would walk over to it and pull it out with ease.

Perhaps others than shamans joined in these tricks. A woman named kole'ta who had grizzly bear power regularly left the dance house (!) and returned a grizzly bear, stayed for a moment, left again and immediately returned her normal self.

Scarification was never practiced although it was known among the Spokane.

[29] See page 142.

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A special feature of some of the dances was a performance to bring the Chinook wind and warmer weather. It was called skwatsá'mu'xam. The dance itself did not differ; only the motivation of the dancers was changed. The leader during such a period of the dance was one with weather power. Such power was not directly given by the elements. It was conferred by the spirit of something typical of the prairie country south of the Columbia river (from which direction the Chinook winds came). Thus a particular bird, only found south of the river, was often the donor of the "Chinook" power.

Sometimes during a protracted period of severe weather in late winter a special dance was called, with the approval of the chief, for the specific purpose of bringing warmer weather. Here again the actual procedure at the dance did not differ from the regular pattern, but a person with weather power was the active leader. The real excuse for the dance was to provide an opportunity for him to sing and dance and tell of the powers he possessed and promises he had been given.

At a certain dance all those with weather power had sung and danced, but to no avail, and were ready to give up. Finally a young crippled woman announced that she would bring the Chinook wind. Everyone laughed at her but she sang nevertheless. She told how she had been visited many years before by a handsome young man who was actually Mallard Duck. He had given her power to bring the warm winds. She told further that he had appeared to her again the preceding night and said that if she sang the wind would come in two days. Her singing was successful. Two days later the winds came.

All dances lasted until dawn each morning. The days were devoted mainly to sleeping.

But the women sometimes spent the morning in a dance called t'ai'ɬk. A few women gathered together baskets of food and began to dance from house to house. They sang their guardian spirit songs as they danced. In each house they stayed about a half hour, dancing and giving handfuls of food to all present. Other women joined them as they proceeded.

On the morning following the last night of the dance the presents were distributed. All the people gathered at the dance house and seated themselves around the room. The shaman in charge began to sing. Then his helpers, usually two or three young men, removed the presents from the poles and piled them in the middle of the room. The shaman picked up one article at a time, mentioned someone's name to the spokesman and handed him the present. The spokesman called out the name and gave the article to one of the helpers to carry to the person. All those who had danced received presents. Those who had danced "hardest and best" were given the best ones. There was no prejudice against strangers in the bestowal. In fact, they were the first to receive gifts. If the bulk of goods was very great, small gifts were sometimes presented to those who had not danced. During the entire procedure the shaman continued to sing. After the last gift had been disposed of the group danced for about five minutes, then broke up.

At this time individuals sometimes gave presents independently. It was common for a person to appear dressed in two or three shirts or dresses, covered

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with many shawls or blankets, and begin to sing. While singing others were invited to take his clothing. Piece by piece it was removed until the donor was left only with a breechclout.

When it was desired to favor many persons with gifts and yet only one valuable article, such as a horse, could be given, it was customary to gather ten or twenty small sticks and give one to each person. Later all those who had received sticks gathered and gambled. The winner took the gift.

A dancer who had specifically asked another to dance with him while he was leading usually presented the latter with a gift at the close of the dance.

SHAMANISM

Many of the characteristics and activities of shamans have been discussed in the preceding sections. Other aspects of the profession, particularly curing, will be described here. It may be repeated that shamanistic power was acquired in exactly the same manner and from the same spirits as any other type of power. Guardian spirits conferred shamanistic talents upon some, other talents upon others.

Both men and women were shamans; women were often markedly successful. Men considerably outnumbered women, however. A shaman, male or female, was a figure of importance in any community. The prestige of a successful practitioner was greater than that of the ordinary chief. Chiefs, in fact, made definite moves to keep in the good graces of the shamans of their villages by such acts as frequent bestowal of presents. Shamans were uniformly wealthier than their fellows. The fortunes accumulated by them were usually far in excess of the material possessions of chiefs, for instance.

But though the shaman was usually highly paid for his services he also had certain public duties to perform for which he received nothing. The most important of these was officiating at funerals. Far from unimportant was the sponsorship of winter dances. The latter, indeed, was a duty which often proved very costly but one which could be omitted only at the expense of a reputation. During the winter dances, too, the community depended for the protection of its welfare upon the shamans. It was expected that they protect their people during the ceremonial season from the attacks of other and malignant shamans.

Not all curing power was shamanistic. A person with a specific animal power was able to cure himself or others of wounds inflicted by that particular animal. Thus one with rattlesnake as a guardian spirit could treat the bite of that snake, or one possessing bear power could heal wounds resulting from encounter with that animal.[11] A person "treated" himself for such an ailment by calling directly upon his spirit in the following vein: "Now, my helper, you once told me to remember you when I needed assistance. Now here I am, wounded. Either you deceived me or you told me the truth. If you told me the truth you will help me now. We shall soon see. I shall sing the song you gave me." Others present joined in the singing. Since the cure of such an ailment could hardly be sudden the injured one was given a sign by his spirit that he was to be helped. This was usually

[11] Cf. pages 83-84.

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an appearance of the animal. If the spirit were Coyote, for instance, a coyote's howl might be heard in the distance. If no sign were evident and improvement were not rapid the person usually called a regular shaman. 756 776

When one treated a patient by virtue of his guardian spirit power he neither sang nor called upon his spirit. The treatment consisted in the simple procedure of laying a hand on the wounded part. Sometimes this was supplemented by rubbing. A small payment was made for such treatment.

A woman was near death from inability to deliver a child. Many doctors had failed to help her. A young man heard of her plight. His name was tapɛ'lst, "big rock on the ground." He went to the woman and said, "When I was young I met a little bird standing on a big rock. The bird told me that the rock was giving birth to a child and it was caring for it. Then the bird told me that when I grew up I could do the same thing. Now is the time for me to try."

Then he stepped beside the woman and put his right hand on her head, held it there for a moment, and left. But before he left the child was born. It was dead but the mother lived. (Burke)[12]

Since two or more persons often had the same type of power contests sometimes arose. In an attempt to learn how strong his power was a man might cause another with the same spirit to be injured by that animal. In such a case the injured one immediately attempted to heal the hurt by soliciting the aib of his spirit. If he failed to receive the aid and had to call a shaman or some other person with the same power (possibly the instigator himself) the one who had caused the trouble knew himself to be the more powerful. But if the wounded man did not have to call in outside help it proved the opposite to be true. There is a suggestion in this of the shamanistic trying of powers discussed below but whereas the laymen's contests were relatively harmless, those between shamans often resulted in death. Moreover it was only laymen with like powers who could engage in such contests but shamans were not so limited. 578 756 776

But to return to the shaman proper: There was little specialization of function. It was within the power of any doctor to treat all illnesses amenable to shamanistic methods. Yet certain shamans gained reputations for being especially proficient at types of ailments such as injuries and troubles at childbirth. 756

An examination of the nature and causes of illness will show why shamanistic specialization was uncommon and will aid in an understanding of the curing procedure. All illness was divided into two large classes which may be called the natural and the unnatural. The former included all of the commoner maladies such as headaches, the common cold and injuries resulting from pure accident involving only the inanimate (such as cutting the foot with a stone). Here, too, was placed the incurable disease, tuberculosis. These afflictions were considered by the native to be natural and inevitable and were treated by natural means principally the use of herbs and roots.[13] A shaman was called to administer in an 753 757

[12] This illustrates a talent a little out of the ordinary and not exactly conforming to the formulation above. That it is not a shamanistic power, however, is proved by the mode of treatment.

[13] See pages 215 f.

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753 ailment of this class only if its persistent nature (barring tuberculosis) suggested
757 that complications of an unnatural sort were present.

The second major class, the unnatural illnesses, were those resulting from the volitional acts of men or spirits. They may for convenience be divided into five sub-classes, as follows: (1) injuries inflicted by animate beings other than men; (2) diffuse internal illnesses; (3) afflictions of the mind; (4) spirit illness; and (5) magical "poisoning."

In the first sub-class, injuries inflicted by animate beings other than men, were the serious wounds resulting directly from encounters with such beings as bears, wolves and snakes, but caused indirectly by the spirits of those beings. The ultimate causes lay still further away; they might be non-observance of the dictates of one's guardian spirit, the jealousy of one with the same spirit or mere carelessness.

The diffuse internal illnesses forming the second group included fevers and all the contagious diseases. The immediate cause was intrusion into the body of foreign matter, and its expulsion was necessary to recovery. The presence of the irritating matter might come about in a number of ways such as the breaking of tabus (menstrual, hunting, burial, etc.) or through the action of an unfriendly shaman. A shaman could bring about such illness by pulling a hair from his head or taking a piece of horse hair or sinew, rolling it between his hands and blowing it away in the direction of the person he wished to afflict.

The third type of illness, afflictions of the mind, came about through shamanistic action to which may be applied the common term bewitching. It was essentially a projection into the victim's body of one of the shaman's spirits. Its abnormal presence resulted in a loss of consciousness, delirium, raving and the various insanities. In delirium the person possessed often talked like the shaman to whom the spirit belonged or even claimed to be that shaman. The spirit could be removed only by another and stronger shaman. When the victim was a layman the illness was called sq̓oq̓oɪnɑwi'xᵘ; when another shaman, sq̓e'um.

In the fourth class fell guardian spirit illness which resulted in one of two ways. The first was the desire of the spirit to return either upon the initial occasion or during subsequent winters. This has been described in the preceding sections of this chapter. The second causation was loss of one's spirit. This came about by the spirit being buried with a corpse or being stolen by a shaman.[14] In the former event its return was impossible, in the latter it could be brought back by a stronger shaman.

Magical "poisoning," the fifth category, was a practice of lay women only. Not all women knew the formula, but all knew those who did and whose services could be bought. The procedure necessitated obtaining first a piece of the proposed victim's clothing, a lock of his hair, some of his nail parings or a like object. To this was added a certain dried and pulverized root, red paint and sometimes the dried body of a bat or a bit of bone from a corpse. The mixture was ground together in a mortar and at the same time the name of the victim was muttered with a few words as what should happen to him. Afterwards the concoction was

[14]See pages 151, 197.

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753 thrown on the dirtiest refuse heap that could be found or, if possible, put in the
757 victim's food. The result was usually withering away or an accumulation of virulent sores over the body. Shamans treated illnesses of this nature but were frequently powerless to effect a cure. Most persons took especial care to burn old clothing or other things that might be used for this purpose.

[775] Illness did not result from soul loss. The soul did not leave the body until death and then it could not be brought back.[15]

753 If shamanistic specialization had occurred it obviously would have been in
756 terms of the above grouping. But the patient himself was unable to determine the nature of his illness. It was not known into what group the malady fell until the shaman had made a diagnosis. Diagnosis was, indeed, one of the major duties of the shaman. Effectual treatment was impossible until the exact nature of the sickness was known. Efficient specialization would have required separate diagnosticians. In the case of serious wounds or difficulty at childbirth, where a shaman was called only after ordinary methods proved useless, the nature of the illness was more or less obvious. Here specialization might, and actually did, occur to a certain extent.[16]

756 A shaman did not begin practice until he was quite mature. To begin the career young was to invite the enmity of older and stronger members of the profession who would resent a youth among their number and would exert all their power to ruin him. John Tom was an exception. His career began, rather humorously, as a veterinarian.[17] At the age of about twenty-five he had already given his inangural dance but had not started practicing. One day his mother came to him, weeping, and declared that their only horse was dying. John went out and found the horse with a swollen body and projecting eyes. He decided to try his talents. He doctored the horse as if it had been a human being. It soon got up and started to eat. The following morning it was perfectly normal. Upon hearing of the incident people began to request Tom's services. He declined consistently until one woman insisted that he treat her daughter whose leg was badly swollen. He was again successful and became more confident. From that time forward his continued success established him firmly in his profession despite his youth.

The first patient of a young shaman seldom paid for the services. The amount paid for subsequent services increased with the length of practice and prestige acquired. A single initial failure did not seriously affect a shaman's prospects but two or three successive failures made it virtually impossible to get further patients.

A shaman never volunteered his services but always waited until he was called. The custom was for a patient to send a messenger to the doctor with an offer of definite gifts. The shaman sometimes hesitated but in the end usually returned with the messenger. John Tom said that he had never refused to answer a call (after actively beginning practice) regardless from whom it came, at what time of the day or night or what the amount of presents offered. This must not

[15] See page 169.
[16] See page 211.
[17] Horses and dogs were not ordinarily treated by shamans. Some laymen had power to cure animals. They mixed paint in the palm of the hand and rubbed it on the afflicted part.

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756 be taken as the rule, however. The average shaman attempted to gain as great a return for his services as possible.[18] Moreover, very small offers probably were never made to a shaman with the prestige of John Tom.

Upon the arrival of the shaman and the messenger the former made ready for practice while the latter whispered to the patient the attitude that had been taken by the shaman. If he had been hesitant about coming the patient usually made him further offers to assure that he would use his full powers. If the messenger came back alone he was never returned nor a second messenger sent. In such a rare case a new shaman was sought. Close relatives of a doctor often dispensed with the offer of presents but something was given, nevertheless, if a cure was effected.

Neighbors always gathered at a patient's house when a shaman arrived to practice. Children were permitted to remain but were not allowed to talk or annoy the doctor or walk behind his back. This was simply an extension of the solemnity required of elders. The shaman never punished an annoysome child by making him ill.

The invariable first act of the shaman in the curing procedure was to sit down and smoke for a few moments. Every shaman possessed a pipe but he did not necessarily use his own. If one were borrowed the owner lit it and took the first few puffs. John Tom explained his reason for smoking: "It builds me up strong for my hard work to come." From among those present the shaman chose a spokesman through whom he gave orders and spoke to the audience for the remainder of the procedure. In addition he selected one or more assistants. The spokesman might be anyone present but the assistants were necessarily strong bodied men familiar with the duties. Covington assisted John Tom whenever he was present. Some shamans removed all of their garments except moccasins and breechcloths while practicing. No particular dress was worn to the patient's home but the shaman always brought with him his spirit objects (feathers, claws, power stick, etc.). Face painting at this time was a trait of some doctors.

The shaman seated himself beside his patient and asked his assistant to bring a basket of water. When this was received he washed his hands and the water was thrown out. The basket was taken away, rinsed, refilled and returned to the shaman's side. The shaman placed either one or both hands on various parts of the patient's body, holding them at each spot for a moment or two. This was the manner or diagnosis. At the same time he sang his doctoring songs. The audience joined in the singing and beat time on the floor or a plank with sticks held vertically. In addition, seated persons sometimes beat on a log with short sticks.
539 756 Examples of the songs follow:

uyu···xa···'uyu···xa···enuiuxa'uyu···xa···e···'e···
(meaningless)

ten'umu's	kntxutumsk	e'lux;	nu"kanlu'tam
I'll just try	to go towards	(the) sickness;	if I fail

[18] Cf. page 208.

ulnutcu'lman	wa'i'lut		ulkunamu'tət
then I'll tell you	I can't do (anything)		and sit down
ulnoɣalske'lux	tɩkɪnɑ'ks	tiá·kwi'lux.[19]	
and you can call	another	doctor.	

ɑ···xa'i'inki'lux,	sxuxu'xup,	xɑli·xi·"
This is my hand,	flying squirrel,	the reason why

qátsku'ləmstən	inki'lux	kənxlátspu'xɑm	xa'xana···'waiɛxa···'
I use my	hands	when I doctor	(meaningless)

If the sickness were caused by an intrusive object a pulsing was felt at the spot where it was located, or the shape and position were detected by the pressure it exerted upon the shaman's hand. If it were a spirit rather than an object it could be felt "running around inside the person's body." Regardless of the outcome of the diagnosis the subsequent treatment was the same. Yet if the diagnosis were incorrect no amount of treatment was of any avail. Upon discovery of the nature of the illness the shaman described it to the patient and the audience and told all of the details connected with its contraction.

The treatment, which followed immediately, consisted of singing, sprinkling with water and motions to draw out the object or spirit. Some shamans substituted sucking for the drawing out motions, others used both methods. John Tom used sucking only for very difficult cases. In either event the first part of the treatment was identical. The shaman dipped one hand in the water at his side, rubbed both hands together, carried a few drops of water to his lips and blew them upon the person's body where the trouble had been localized. He began a song and the spectators again joined him. During a great part of the following procedure the doctor was unable to sing but the others continued.

Drawing out the cause of the sickness consisted in the shaman moving his hands, one on each side of the patient's body but not touching it, from the feet to the head. While doing this he made repeated explosive sounds with his lips. The movement was repeated several times before the object was eliminated. Each time it was drawn nearer the person's head. When finally drawn out at the top of the head the patient sighed heavily and the shaman clasped his hands together. The assistant, who stood in readiness for this act, immediately grasped the shaman's wrists and carried his hands to the basket of water. This was necessary, for the strength of the object or spirit was so great that the shaman alone could not control it. Covington declared that it took all the strength he could muster to pull Tom's hands down to the water. Once the substance was under the water it was powerless and could be handled with ease. Sometimes the whole of the substance was not extracted at one time. In such a case each part was immersed, removed, then blown back into the water and the drawing out process repeated.

[19] One of John Tom's songs.

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755 In sucking to obtain the spirit or object the shaman never touched his mouth to the patient's body. A tube was not used but sometimes a sort of tube was made by holding one fist above the other, each slightly opened. Usually the sucking was done an inch or two from the body and simply consisted in deep and vigorous inhalation. In addition, biting movements were sometimes made with the jaws. Sucking was done at the spot where the object had been located. Places commonly selected were the temples, nose and throat.

The sucking procedure was an especially dramatic one. The assistant first fastened a rope or strap around the shaman's body at the waist, then the latter bent over the patient with outstretched arms, being held from falling by the assistant who stood behind him holding the strap. The shaman sucked while the others beat time and sang. From time to time he called for the water basket and released into it the blood that he had sucked from the patient's body.[20] When he finally drew the substance into his mouth he lost control of his actions. The assistant sometimes had to call for help in holding him. After a while he was able to again direct his actions and began beating his sides with his fists, proceeding from his waist to his shoulders, to eject the substance from himself. After driving it to his mouth he blew hard into his hands, thus expelling and capturing it. His assistant helped him carry it to the water as before.

754 755 An eliminated object was often disposed of by merely blowing it away. As the shaman took it from the water he rubbed his hands vigorously together "to roll it all together," stretched out his arms and blew into his opened palms. The patient cried out in relief. But if the presence of the object had been caused by the action of some shaman the manner of disposal was left to the patient and the audience. They discussed what should be done, with the usual result that the object, and with it the sickness, were blown back to the shaman in retaliation. Or instead it might be blown into the fire or water in which case the malignant shaman was injured by burning or fell into the water and perhaps drowned.

A young Palus boy had married a Spokane girl. He was hunting in the Sanpoil mountains. On the way home with his heavy load of meat he passed an old shaman. The shaman hoped the young man would stop and give him meat and fat. But the hunter didn't; he kept on going. The shaman was angry. He said to himself, "All right, let him keep all of his meat; but when the snow melts on the south slopes next spring he will die."

During the winter the young man became sick. Eight doctors were called in, including one woman, but none could help him. Finally an almost unknown doctor said he knew what the trouble was. He explained what had happened. Then they doctored the boy and cured him. The new doctor took the point of an iron digging stick out of his head. The old doctor had sent it there.

The doctor asked the boy's parents if they wanted him to send it back to the old doctor. The boy's mother said, "Yes." So he had his helper open a hole in the fire and he blew it in. The fire made a little explosion. "Now," he said, "before the summer is over that doctor will go crazy and fall in the fire and burn to death."

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[20] Covington declared that he often had seen Tom redden the water in the basket with blood that he sucked out even though his mouth never touched the sick person. Cf. page 211.

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During the summer the old man started to act queerly, fell into the fire and rolled over in it. The next morning he died. (Covington)

The nature of the object recovered in the anecdote above is unusual. The material usually was not visible in its concrete form. John Tom declared that the thing removed was never shown to anyone except another shaman and that regardless of its real form it looked like "fog or steam." This applied to spirits as well.

A spirit seldom was returned to its owner unharmed. It might be treated similarly to an object or might be "cut in two."

Henry Covington (Bob's brother) was camping with Jim James on the Columbia river one summer when he fell ill. He called John Tom who came and treated him. He found that the sickness was caused by the spirit of a shaman. He sucked until he got it out. Then he told his helpers to hold him over a fire so that he could handle the spirit. After that he lost consciousness. They held him over a small fire for some time and threw cold water on him. Finally he became conscious and pounded the spirit out of himself and put it in the water. Then he asked what he should do with it and suggested that it be killed. One man said to cut it in two. Tom agreed and ordered a blanket and a white piece of cloth brought. The cloth was laid on the blanket. Then he held his hands over it and spread them apart. "Now bring a knife." he said, "and pull it between my hands. If I am telling the truth you will see blood dropping on the cloth." This was done and everyone saw blood drop on the cloth.

The doctor who had made Henry sick was a Colville who lived at Inchelium. He was dead when he was next heard of. (Burke)

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After disposing of the substance the shaman turned once more to his patient. After dipping his hands in the water and carrying them to his lips he rubbed the patient's body slowly from head to feet to "cool him off." He said, "I hope now that I have gotten out all your sickness and that you will be well. In the morning, if you feel hungry, take anything to eat that you like, regardless of what it is. It won't hurt you; it will help you." Or at other times the shaman specified what the person should eat or directed him to paint his face in a certain fashion. The food was provided or the face painted by a relative, for the patient did not leave his bed immediately. Before departing the shaman commanded the sick man's family to call him again on the following day if the patient were not better.

If the shaman were unsuccessful and felt that the reason was a lack of power he asked the relatives of the patient to call another to aid him, naming the one he wanted. Upon the arrival of the new doctor the first told him what he had already done and the two proceeded to work together. Sometimes still more doctors were called to assist, upon occasion as high as seven or eight.[21]

Shamans were paid only after a complete cure had been effected: If the person did not regain his health within a reasonable time no payment at all was made. When the treatment was successful those presents which had been originally promised were carried to the shaman and presented to him. Though the payment was

[21]But no shamans' organizations developed.

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spoken of as a gift the spirit was that of a fee. When the services of more than one shaman at a time were required it was often necessary for the relatives of the patient to assist in paying them. Or if a man were ill and had nothing to offer in return for shamanistic attention a relative usually came to his aid. Bob Covington paid John Tom two horses for the treatment of his brother, Henry, as related in the anecdote above, because the latter no property. For another case he received a horse, saddle, blanket and ten dollars. These are examples of relatively high fees, however. The average payment was considerably smaller, a single horse, a deer skin, a pair of snowshoes or a piece of Hudson Bay tobacco. The latter was greatly prised by shamans after its appearance. Shamans of lesser importance and lesser power were often called because they expected a smaller fee. A shaman's assistants were never paid. 755

Shamans sometimes became covetous and used their power to cause illness in order to obtain the property desired. In the following anecdote such an attempt proved unsuccessful. 754 756

Cultus Charley, a Sanpoil doctor now dead (1930), made Joe Monahan's daughter sick because he thought Joe would call him to treat her and he could get some of his fine running horses in return. But instead he called Peter Hilkeses, another doctor. Hilkeses didn't help the girl any, though, so her father called nikwa'la, a Wenatchi doctor. The new doctor found out why she was sick and cured her. This made Cultus Charley angry and he tried his power against the Wenatchi doctor. He sent a spider to bite him and it almost went through the Wenatchi man's body. But he knew who had sent it so he decided that Charley should die. He told Monahan, saying that Charley would die on one of his horses. A short time later Charley was thrown from one of his horses and died from the fall. (Burke)

Shamans were able to help themselves during illness only in the way that other persons were, which was by calling on their guardian spirits. Since shamans' guardians were more numerous and more powerful than those of laymen they were able to be of more assistance and shamans often went through serious illnesses without enlisting help. Tom once was so ill he felt he was to die. One of his spirits appeared to him and told him to eat Chinook salmon the next morning and he would be well. This Tom did and immediately recovered. 756 776

When unable to help himself a shaman often called another to treat him, although this involved a certain degree of risk. In his helpless condition the other shaman could easily take from him his power if he were so inclined. There was also the danger that unknown malice or jealousy on the part of the shaman selected might lead him to make no honest attempt to achieve a cure or even to make the patient worse. But the administering shaman assumed some risk also. A failure to cure indicated a weakness that the other shaman might later take advantage of. Or retaliation for failure to cure might result if the patient had reason to believe that all of the doctor's power had not been used. 754 756

The procedure in treating a shaman was identical with that for the layman. 755

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I (John Tom) was once called to treat another big doctor. The first time I went I could do nothing. The second call I made I found out the reason. The sick doctor was trying to trap me. He wanted to steal my power and make me sick. But he was being careful. He wanted to see how strong I was first. I told him that I would quit doctoring him unless he thought different. When he found out that I knew what was in his mind he gave up his plan. So I kept on doctoring him and cured him.

I (Tom) was once very sick. My nephew came to me. He said, "I know you are a big doctor and I'm only a little doctor. But I'll doctor you anyway if you'll let me. I let him go ahead. Pretty soon he left. A little while later my partner (guardian spirit) came to me and said, "What is the matter? Look at your knees." I looked and there were two big pieces of ice, one on each knee. Then my partner told me that my nephew had done that. "He's trying to make you worse, not help you. Take the ice and shoot it back at him." But he was a young man so I thought I would just let it go. But a little while later he died anyway.

John Tom was ill and crippled for the last two years of his life. During the time he was able to get no other shaman to administer to him. He explained their attitude: "They all think this way: John's partners are all very, very strong. But they stand off away from him and talk to him. They tell him that he is very sick and that he is very old so they can no longer help him. But still if we who have so much less power try to doctor him we're sure to fall into a trap. We would either find that his power is still stronger than ours or his helpers would come to him then. So we had better not doctor him."

After a diagnosis which indicated that a patient's illness was caused by the spirit of a shaman the attending doctor would refuse to go further with the case if the shaman responsible were stronger than he. To have done so would have resulted in failure or worse. The instigator, resenting the interference of a weaker shaman, might make the latter sick as well. To avoid such unfortunate results a stronger shaman was called to assist or the case was turned over entirely to a stronger doctor. Even the strongest of shamans proceeded with caution in cases of bewitching. It sometimes proved that the original diagnosis was deceptive; that the malignant shaman had sent only a portion of his power to afflict the person and was holding the rest in readiness to project as soon as another shaman came to the person's aid.

Cases of witchcraft were relatively easy to detect. The patient had a scared look in his eyes, jumped and twitched and often was delirious. In the latter state he frequently assumed the character of the bewitching shaman.

John Tom's aunt suddenly became ill. Soon she was near death. She began to laugh. "I am monwai'ɣ," she said; "I am monwai'ɣ." The man she claimed to be, monwai'ɣ, was a powerful doctor and a miserly person. The woman's people called that doctor (!). He made three calls but each time the woman only got worse. In the middle of the night the woman called out, "I'm going to leave you, I'm going to die. I'm dying because of that doctor's power." Before morning she died.

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754 The next morning the woman's brother picked up his axe and went to the
755 doctor's house. He left the axe outside and went in. He asked the doctor to come outside. When they got outside the brother pointed at the sun which was just rising. "I want you to take a last look at the sun," he said, "never again will you see it and never again will you kill another person." Then he split the doctor's head open with the axe.

Nothing was done to the man who killed the doctor. Everyone thought he had done the right thing. (John Tom)

While sitting in his house one day John Tom's son began to shiver. He turned around toward the door and fell unconscious. When his father came home he found him on the floor. He doctored him but it did no good. Finally he called xuxu'last, another Sanpoil doctor. After examining the boy he said to John Tom, "You were once doctoring inəmpi't'sa. You took away her power (Salmon) and made her die. Her father (ktəmpa'skət, 'cloudy,' also a shaman) found out why she died and sent his power to make your boy sick. I can keep him from dying but he will always be paralyzed on his right side."

The boy is still paralyzed. He can walk by dragging his right foot but he can't move his eye or his arm. He is very childish. He is always joking and laughs at everything. His wife left him when this happened. (Burke)

158 Chronic mental derangements were treated by shamans with varying results.
755 Permanent cures were sometimes obtained; at other times cases had to be given up. Insane persons who could not be cured were short lived.

qui·qui·ta'lks, Burke's aunt, was an hysteric (stsaiayɛ'sxᵘ). When she was about sixty years old a horse which she prized very much died. After being told about it by Burke, who found the dead animal, she did not speak a word for a whole day. During the night she became ill and did not get up the next morning. Burke called Sam sa'xtula, a Columbia shaman, but he did not help her. For two weeks she remained in bed and did not speak. Then she got up but was never normal. She was irritable, shiftless, and flighty. She wept at the least provocation, recognized her family and friends only a part of the time and was seldom certain where she was. After having a question answered she asked the same thing over again. She lived about ten years longer. (Burke)

An unusual abnormal case was that of sqwea'luq. From childhood he was extremely slow in all his actions. In eating, for example, he carried food to his mouth and returned the implement to his plate so slowly that it took him two or three times as long to finish as anyone else. He spent most of his time gathering useless objects such as sticks and carefully searching for out of the way places to deposit them. He always hesitated a long time before answering questions. After every studied remark he made he laughed uproariously. If reprimanded he burst into tears and then laughed at himself for having done so. He died quite young. (Burke)

ənqwa'la was afflicted with a more serious abnormality (sɪtsqoqwa'wa'xᵘ, "crazy"). After difficulties with his wife ending in separation he became subject to spells of insanity. At times he disappeared to the mountains where he ran around like a wild animal. He walked elevated logs, jumped over wide canyons and sat on the very edge of cliffs with his feet swinging over the edge, singing all

CONCEPTS AND CONTROL OF THE NATURAL

The world was conceived as a huge stationary disc lying in a horizontal plane. The sun was likewise a disc, but moved. Both were the same size. Beyond the edges of the earth water was everywhere. Streams and rivers were the "veins of the earth." They all ran to the "big water" (si'lxwasiulkᵉ) that surrounded the land. 813 821

The topography of the earth was not explained as a natural phenomenon. It was the result of supernatural forces in mythologic times. 823

All animals, as such, were mortal. They did not possess souls. When they died "they turned into dirt." 825

Much illness was of purely natural causation. Some of the causes were carelessness, simple accident and uncleanliness. 753

Old persons were wrinkled because their muscles had shriveled and their skin had stretched. 826

A left handed person was "made wrong by his mother. He should have been the opposite sex."

A single man was luckier at gambling than a married one because "he had no woman to sleep with." 797

THE WEATHER

Weather phenomena were caused by the interaction of many more or less predictable and controllable natural forces.[1] The seasons followed in inevitable sequence but not so the daily weather. The winds were caused by an ugly man with sore eyes who blew continuously. He was called sni'u'ɬ. Thunder was caused by the flying of a bird which no one had ever seen. It had no specific name; it was not called thunderbird. It was designated by the generic term, bird, in a qualifying phrase such as, "the bird that makes the thunder." Rainbows were caused by thunder. 821 844 821

The birth of a child caused the weather to change for two days, then change in another fashion for a second two days, after which it returned to normal. If the child were a boy the first change was called skaltumi'xᵉ xa'xa', "man's influence"; the second change, tukəlmi'lxᵉ ila'ma'skət, "woman's influence." If the child were a girl the sequence was reversed. 761

When a person died the weather for two days became the same as it was at the time of his birth. 821

The killing of a toad was followed by rain. Female toads followed men's tracks, entering their lodges and their beds. Male toads followed women. A toad 821 825

[1]Some of my readers may feel that surely a part of the material included in this and other sections of the present chapter was not on a natural, but on a supernatural level. However, I can assure them that from the native point of view all weather phenomena, all so-called omens and all medicine were natural manifestations following strictly causal sequences. The native's premise may have been wrong and his logic faulty, but the principle remains the same. Moreover, he had learned to predict much (and believed he could predict more) from observation of these sequences. Some have held this to be the cardinal criterion for science. Be that as it may, this is unquestionably representative of the science of the Sanpoil. 813

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following one could be stopped without killing it by picking some grass or a few leaves and throwing them on the toad's back, saying, "Here, I pay you this. There is your blanket and your food. Now don't follow me." 821 825

The weather knew what was said concerning it. It was not well to boast of one's ability to withstand cold weather. One young hunter was admonished by his father to put on more clothes before going hunting. He objected, saying, "The cold is my wife. I don't need any more clothes." The next morning he was found frozen to death. 821

When lightning was seen but no thunder was heard, the weather that followed was very hot.

A summer in which two or three crops of berries appeared was followed by a winter with much snow.

Thick vegetation and bushes blossoming in the fall presaged a great deal of snow. Many worms on the wild cherry trees or many yellow jackets were indicative of the same thing.

Large flakes of snow falling in the spring were followed by the coming of crows. People said of the snowflakes, "Those are crows' socks."

A rainbow indicated that a storm was to follow or that "thunder was showing its wings."

The twitching of one's forehead indicated that rainy weather was to follow.

The croaking of frogs marked the coming of spring.

When the weather was foggy people said that coyote had urinated.

One's finger became sore and sometimes dropped off if it were pointed at a rainbow.

The coming of warm weather was indicated by: a dark crescent around the sun or moon with the open side to the north; parhelia; dark or "colored" clouds before sunset or sunrise, if persisting; pine trees with a yellow appearance in the morning; wind "roaring" in the mountains (Chinook wind); or a new moon with tips of its horns in a nearly vertical plane.

The coming of cold weather was indicated by: a gray crescent around the sun or moon with the open side to the south; a ring close around the sun or moon; anthelia; a fragmentary rainbow between the sun and the horison in the afternoon; brilliantly colored clouds at sunset; pale clouds before sunrise; "deep red clouds" before sunrise lasting only a few moments; wind "whistling" in the mountains; a light blue, cloudless sky after sunset; "bright large stars"; pine trees with a dark appearance in the morning; many shooting stars; or a new moon with the horns pointing upward.

Black clouds resulted in rain; gray clouds gave rise to snow.

Cumulus clouds appearing in the morning brought a strong south wind.

A certain amount of control over the weather was possible to anyone who followed closely certain formulae. But major changes could only be made by those possessing spirit power over meteorologic elements. This supernatural control was usually exercised at the winter dances. 789 821

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789 The common formulae follow:

821 To bring rain, bark from the jack pine was placed in a basket full of water or the leaves of the sulphur flower, *Eriogonum heracleoides*, Nutt., (si'a'its'qan) were mashed and similarly immersed.

To stop the rain pine cones were burned in the camp fire. Oregon grape berries were thrown into the air or head lice were thrown out into the rain. Another method was to place an otter skin in the fire and leave it until charred, then throw the ashes about.

The wind could be summoned in hot weather by charring needles from the top of the jack pine and throwing them into the air. The top needles were used because the coming of a breeze was first indicated by the motion of the topmost needles of the pines. Sulphur flower (same species as above) also brought wind if pounded between rocks, dampened and spread about.

Thunder was stopped by placing a long stick vertically in the ground and tying a knife to the upper end. Or sometimes several knives were simply stuck in the ground at various places.

OMENS

787 Twitching in the left arm indicated that bad news would be heard. Twitching of the shoulder was of the same significance.

Twitching of the right arm presaged good news.

If the heart beat fast the person was soon to become angry, or to hear bad news.

Itching below the eye was a sign that one was to cry as a result of hearing bad news.

Quivering of the eye was followed by seeing something unusual.

If the eyebrow or lip (Tom said upper lip), twitched, its owner was to have an argument and become angry.

If the heel twitched it indicated that one was to receive a horse soon.

Twitching of the bottom of the foot while riding meant that the rider was soon to be walking.

Quivering of the chin was a sign that good food was to be eaten on the morrow.

Buzzing in the left ear was followed by hearing bad news, perhaps of a death. Buzzing in the right ear meant good news.

If a tightly tied necklace fell off, it indicated that the wearer or a near relative was to die.

When a dog urinated on a person a death followed. A dog howling near a house sometimes meant death.

The falling of a tree in calm weather presaged unusual news.

If tamarack needles fell on the rump of a female bear it caused her to have a miscarriage. That is why bears hibernated before the tamarack needles turned yellow and began to fall.

If one built a fire with wood from a tree which had been struck by lightning it caused him to have cramps.

The appearance of many mosquitoes preceded the lowering of the Columbia river.

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Good luck followed the catching of a beetle and keeping it. 787

A person sneezed because someone had mentioned his name. Also, the following was sometimes said after one sneezed:

ku'ks	sɑnpi'i'lsa	xɑ'ləp;	kwáti-'sɑ	ɣɑlə'ks	pápási'l.
You	joy (will have)	tomorrow;	(you) sneeze	because	sad.

MEDICINES AND CURES

The Sanpoil made very extensive use of the available herbs and roots for medicinal purposes. An exhaustive list of these would probably include a half or more of the botanical genera (exclusive or grasses) found in the territory. Much of this practical medicine is forgotten today, but the list below includes the more important *materia medica*. Informants did not hesitate to tell what they remembered of native medical practices; cures do not seem to have been the property of individuals, and were not kept secret. Men as well as women shared the lore. 757

Household treatment of ailments seems to have been restricted more or less to the often recurring diseases (sq̇i'lt) such as the common cold (sɑ'axa'u'), minor injuries (sɣɑ'no'mt), bruises and skin troubles, and to that one most serious malady, tuberculosis, which shamans ordinarily considered beyond their powers to cure. Minor wounds and cuts were given little attention; the "sores" for which so many medicines were prepared were usually eruptions of the skin, with an internal rather than an external cause. Serious wounds were attended by a shaman. Medicines for use at the time of childbirth were lacking, but contraceptives and abortifacients were common knowledge. Specific treatments were used for the two common venereal diseases. The number of medicines prescribed for the common cold was probably greater than for any other type of ailment, unless it be skin troubles.

In the preparation of a medicine roots were nearly always boiled with water, leaves often so treated, but stems very seldom. Steeping or brewing, infusion, maceration and pulverization were other common methods by which the raw material was handled in the preparation of the medical product.

Patients suffering from illnesses of the class treated by shamans were given special foods, or fasted. In all other cases there was no restriction or modification of the ordinary diet. Isolation was never practiced for illness; only menstruating women were separated from others. Ailing children were carefully attended but bedridden adults were left more or less to themselves.

The sweat lodge[2] was used for the cure of sickness of any nature except the common cold. This exception was explained as due to the harmful effect that water exerts upon the person suffering from a cold.

Snake rattles were carried under one's hat to relieve a headache (sk̇e'lɑkəm). 755

The bite of the rattlesnake was curable only by a shaman or an individual whose guardian spirit was rattlesnake. However, if a dog was bitten by a rattle- 757

[2]See page 179.

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757 snake, the hair around the point where the fangs entered was singed off. This is the nearest approach to cauterization that I have recorded for the Sanpoil.

757 Surgical practice included removal of growths over the eye by an abrasive process, the lancing of boils and the removal of warts. The operation on the eye was accomplished with the aid of a small piece of bone that had been exposed to the weather for a long period of time and had become porous and rough. Such bone fragments were easily found by searching the fields. After a suitable piece of bone had been obtained it was heated in the camp fire "to kill any insects or bugs that might be in the fissures." A tiny piece was then broken off and used to scrape or abrade the surface of the lens capsule where the opacity existed. The operation required great skill and a steady hand, or the actual lens capsule would have been injured, resulting in permanent blindness.[8]

After horsehair was available warts were removed by holding a long hair taut between the two hands and moving it back and forth at the base of the wart until it cut through. Sometimes a large wart was removed by tying a horsehair around the base and gradually tightening the knot until the hair cut through. Warts were thought to disappear if rubbed with a porous bone until bleeding started.

Boils were opened by piercing with a thorn or a sharpened stick. To hasten healing the suppuration was forced out with a stick broken from the marker over a grave. After being used it was thrown back onto the grave or in the fire.

Limb joints swollen with rheumatism were blackened with charcoal. The rheumatic pains were admonished to "go to someone better off."

A bit of deer horn was placed in the mouth to relieve a toothache.

Bear grease was rubbed on sores, after being chewed and rubbed between the palms of the hands.

White clay from the banks of the Columbia river was mixed with water and drunk to relieve indigestion.

[278] A poison, which caused acute convulsions followed by death, was made from a plant called ini'x^{e} by crushing it, mixing with water and boiling.

The following list represents that part of the native *materia medica* about which I was able to get more or less detailed information and specimens. I have not been able to arrange the list according to any consistent system of classification, either botanical or utilitarian, for although in the case of some plants a single part, such as the root, was used, and for a single purpose, many had various uses, and the several parts of other specimens were all used, either for one or more purposes.

A specimen of each type was obtained in the field for purposes of botanical identification. Some of these were identified in the herbarium of the Washington State Museum; the greater number was classified in the herbarium of Washington State College. A few of the specimens were unidentifiable.

[8] Even with great care, however, it seems that the chances of avoiding serious injury to the eyeball must have been small, to say nothing of successfully restoring the eyesight. But Bob Covington insisted that he had known personally of two operations, both of which had been successful.

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1. Common Sagebrush, *Artemisia tridentata* Nutt., (qwinqwinɑmɑni'ɬpˢ, "blue brush"). This plant is one of those most commonly found in the territory of the Sanpoil, and perhaps the one most extensively used for medicinal purposes. A tea was brewed from the pulverized leaves and stems and used for the treatment of severe cases of the common cold and la grippe.

   A stronger tea, used in treating indigestion, biliousness and tuberculosis, was made from the tips only of the stems and a few seed pods. Sweating was customary preceding and following the drinking of the potion. Furthermore, these infusions acted as laxatives.[4]

2. Common Sagewort, *Artemisia vulgaris* L., var. *ludoviciana* (Nutt.) Jeps., (nɑqənəqati'ɬpˢ, "ill-smelling bush"). A few leaves were placed in the nostrils and permitted to remain there for about an hour to relieve a cold in the head or a headache.

   Pulverized leaves of this sagewort were sprinkled on sores to hasten their healing.

3. Dragon Sagewort, *Artemisia Dracunculus* L., (tsitsiɑqi'ɬpˢ, "squeaking bush"). Roots of this sage were steeped in cold water to obtain a brew which was used in the treatment of colds.[5]

4. Purple Sage, *Ramona incana* (Benth.) Dougl., (snɑk'nɑkɑ'taqi·'n). This was another herb popularly used in the treatment of the common cold, or for any illness of a general nature. The potion was made by boiling or steeping the leaves in water.

5. Antelope Brush, *Purshia tridentata* DC., (tsqua'sqələstən, "grease wood"). The berries of this plant were crushed and mixed with water to form a concoction for the treatment of constipation or hemorrhage.

6. Rabbit Brush, *Chrysothamnus nauseosus* (Pall.) Britt., var. *speciosus* (Nutt.) Hall, (papa·'ɬɑmɑɬpˢ, "buckskin brush"[6]). A smudge produced by burning this brush was considered effective in curing horses of distemper. A few pieces of brush were placed in a container, lighted, and held below the horse's nostrils.

   Also, the branches and leaves were pulverized and mixed with water to form a paste-like substance which was rubbed on horses to protect them from horseflies and gnats.

7. Buckbrush, *Ceanothus sanguineus* Pursh, (wɛ·'γɑnɑɬpˢ, koli'tkɑɬpˢ). This brush was utilized in the preparation of a powder for use on sores or wounds. After removing the bark the sap wood was scraped away, then dried and pulverized. Grease or oil of any kind was rubbed on the afflicted part and the powder sprinkled on top of it.

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[4] For non-medicinal use of this plant, see page 36.
[5] For a non-medicinal use of this plant, see page 76.
[6] So termed because of its use in smoking buckskin.

the while. He would not return from such escapades until caught and forcibly taken back. These attacks continued for about a year. At the end of that time he was cured by a shaman named ɬeosá'luxkən, "two-pointed horn." (Burke) 158 755

John Tom recounted one case of magical "poisoning" which he treated but without success: "I was called to doctor a woman named tamtɑ'lks. I couldn't find out what was wrong with her. Her heart was as if it were in hot water, but I couldn't find out why. I went home and lay awake nights for two weeks thinking about it. Then I decided she had been poisoned. I went back to her and asked her if she could remember when she first got sick. She said she had been visiting up in the Colville country and had stopped at an old woman's house to eat a few bites. Then she had vomited and got very ill. I told her that that is what I had thought, but I didn't want to say so because I didn't want to hurt her feelings. Then I told her that the old woman had put poison (kəni'lmən) in her food. She did it for the mother-in-law of tamtɑ'lks, who did not like her son's wife. There was nothing I could do for her. She died in a little while." 754

A woman shaman whose common name was tcutcuwa'lks, but who practiced under the name she had received from her spirit, ɬəsa'iakən, "bad head," gained a wide reputation for her ability to heal wounds and was well paid for her services. She treated by sucking in the usual manner. She always sucked out large quantities of blood, filling a basket in a short time(!). She finished her treatment by blowing over the wound and her patients seldom failed to recover quickly. 755

Suzanne was another female shaman who was often called by those suffering from serious wounds.

A young man named kwɬamini'tsa had been stabbed. The wound had been neglected until gangrene appeared and the man had lost consciousness. Suzanne was called. She threw water on his face and then sucked on the side of his body opposite the wound. She drew out a quart of blood (!). Then she blew on the blood and the water and threw it over the sick man. That night he regained consciousness. Within a week he was well.

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8. Sulphur Flower, *Eriogonum compositum* Dougl., (tsak'tsak'wa'lak, "red-red wood"). The root of this plant was boiled with water and the liquor obtained was swallowed to relieve diarrhea. 137 278 757

9. Sulphur Flower, *Eriogonum heracleoides* Nutt., (sia'itskən, "solid head"). Used as the preceding species, No. 8.

10. Coyote Mint, *Monardella odoratissima* Benth., (ap'kanu'sastən, "spear-rubbing plant").[9] The stems and leaves of this mint were boiled and the concoction used in the treatment of severe cases of the common cold in either children or adults.[10]

11. Wooly Field Mint, *Mentha arvensis* L., var. *lanata* Piper, (to'a·ti'əwa, "rattler plant"). A medicinal liquid employed in treating the colds of infants was made by boiling this mint with water.[11]

12. Wild Mint, *Mentha canadensis* L., (xaxa'ilp[a]). This mint, like the two preceding species, was used in concocting a medicine for colds. In addition, it was considered efficacious in the treatment of other illnesses of a general nature. If made for adults, the water in which the leaves were immersed was boiled; if for children, the leaves were merely steeped.

13. Western Yarrow, *Achillea Millefolium* L., var. *lanulosa* (Nutt.) Piper, (qotsqotso'ia'xo'ps, "chipmunk grass"). This is still another plant from which a liquor for the treatment of colds was made. The roots were boiled until the water became very dark. The patient swallowed the draft before it cooled. [347

It was taken only in the evening, at bedtime.

The upper portions of the yarrow were used in quite a different manner. A strong potion, made by boiling water in which the leaves and stems had been immersed, was used to cause abortion.

14. Skunk Currant, *Ribes bracteosum* Dougl.[12] An infusion made from the stems of this plant and water, was prepared for a child when afflicted with a cold.

15. Western Scouring Rush, *Equisetum hyemale* L., (itsi'stən). This was not a medicine, but was used as a drinking tube through which medicine was taken by patients unable to drink directly from a container, and for giving medicine to infants. [445

16. Gum plant, *Grindelia nana* Nutt., (nti'tai'xu's, "floats on water"). The roots of this plant were boiled with water and the concoction was used in the treatment of tuberculosis.

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[9]See page 135.

[10]Non-medicinal uses indicated on pages 105, 135.

[11]For non-medicinal use, see page 104.

[12]William Burke, who furnished the information concerning this specimen, was uncertain as to the Sanpoil name. He identified it tentatively by the same name as that given by Bob Covington for wild mint (specimen no. 12); but his suggestion was doubtless incorrect.

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17. Sticky Geranium, *Geranium viscosissimum* F. & M., (ta'qwa'). The geranium leaves were crushed and applied to sores. 137 278 757

A liquor obtained by boiling water in which geranium roots had been placed was used for washing sore eyes.

18. Nettle, *Urtica* sp., (st'sət'si'xənt, "burning plant"). The nettle was used as a counter-irritant. In cases of inflammatory rheumatism or other swelling a sprig was brushed lightly against the affected part.

19. Arrow-leaved Balsamroot, *Balsamorhiza sagittata* (Pursh) Nutt., (smoqwak-ɪni'ɬpᵘ, "humped-up plant," pi'i'q).[13] A small piece of the root was dried out and toasted near the fire, then pulverized by wrapping it in buckskin and pounding. The powder thus obtained was sprinkled on sores and boils.

Sometimes a piece of the root was flattened by hammering, heated and then bound to a body area which was bruised or painful.

The root was prepared for use as a poultice in still another manner. Small pieces were cut from the bulbs and macerated in a small quantity of boiling water. The paste so formed was rubbed on the afflicted part.

A hair tonic, made from the root by shredding the inner portion and mixing it with water to form an infusion, was rubbed into the hair and scalp to help the growth of the hair. [302]

20. Dogbane, *Apocynum androsaemifolium* L., (p̓ətsp̓ətsɑnɛ'kul, "false hemp") The roots were boiled with water and the concoction was drunk as a contraceptive. It was customary to take the potion about once each week. [842]

21. Western Holly, or Shining-leaved Oregon Grape, *Berberis aquifolium* Pursh, (stcualsi'ɬpᵘ, "sour-plant"). The tips of the stems of the holly were boiled and the liquor taken to relieve a disturbed stomach or to stop vomiting.

Tuberculosis was treated with a medicine made by boiling the roots in water.

The roots were used also in the preparation of an eye wash. The roots were washed, the outer covering removed and the inner substance shredded. An infusion was made by soaking these shredded parts in cold water until the liquid became yellow. The fluid was dashed into the eyes with the hands, or the face was immersed in it.[14]

22. Smooth Sumach, *Rhus glabra* L. (tɩl'tɩl'ti'ɬpᵘ, "tearing brush"). Sumach leaves were chewed and permitted to remain in the mouth for some time to aid the healing of sore gums.

The leaves were also used for sore lips. In this case they were mashed and rubbed on the lips.

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[13]The first term was the one applied to the plant by William Burke; the second was given by Bob Covington. There is a slight possibility that the two terms designate distinct species, in which case Burke's nomenclature is more apt to be correct for *sagittata* than Covington's.

[14]For non-medicinal uses of holly, see pages 37, 102.

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23. Cow Parsnip, *Heracleum lanatum* Michx.[15] (x̣oxti'lpᵘ, "cut-off bush"). The roots of this herb were pounded and a small amount of water added, to form a paste. This preparation was used as a poultice over painful parts, sore eyes, etc. A strip of buckskin was usually used to bind the poultice in place; it was left over night. Mixed with water it was used as a hair wash to eliminate dandruff.

24. Devil's Club, *Echinopanax horridum*, (x̣oxo'i'lpᵘ). The stickers and outer covering of the stalk were scraped away, then the inner pith was split into fine pieces and immersed in water to make an infusion, yellow in color, which was used for colds.

25. Snowberry, *Symphoricarpos albus* (L.) Blake, (stəmtəməni'i'lpᵘ, "grave-bush"). The fluid obtained by boiling water in which leaves from the snowberry had been placed was used to relieve cases of retention of the urine. It was used alike for men and animals.

[515]

Crushed berries were rubbed in the arm pits as an anti-perspirant.

A concoction made by mashing the berries and mixing them with water was used to bathe sore eyes.

The roots of the snowberry were also used. They were boiled and the liquor used for illness of an indefinite character.

26. Kinnikinnick, *Arctostaphylos uva-ursi* Spreng. An infusion made from the entire plant was used as a hair wash for the elimination of dandruff and scalp diseases. It was also used to wash the hair of young girls to insure a luxuriant growth.

[302]

This liquid was further used to wash skin sores. Usually after washing the sores were sprinkled with a powder made by drying and pulverizing the green leaves of the kinnikinnick.[16]

27. Western Clematis, *Clematis lingusticifolia* Nutt., (q̇ətsəsuni'na', "tangle owl"). A lather, made by rubbing clematis leaves together with water, was applied to sores or boils on either men or animals. After the application, the lather was washed off and one of the healing powders sprinkled on.

28. Scouler Willow, *Salix Scouleriana* Barratt, (pá'x̣poxilpᵘ, "spray bush"). Roots of this species of willow were boiled with water and the liquid was used to counteract diarrhea.[17]

29. River Alder, *Alnus tenuifolia* Nutt., (q̇iq̇i'təni'lpᵘ, "dry dry tree"). The bark of this tree was boiled to obtain a liquor for washing sores. The sap wood was used for making a healing powder for use on sores. The bark was removed, the sap wood scraped away, then dried and pulverized.

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[15] Identification probable, but not certain.
[16] For non-medicinal uses, see pages 102, 167.
[17] For non-medicinal uses, see pages 36, 63.

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30. Chokecherry, *Prunus virginiana* L. var. *melanocarpa* (A. Nels.) Sarg., (xlo-xloxwi'lp^{a}, "hole-in-bush"). The bark of the chokecherry was used in the production of a medicine for the treatment of diarrhea. The bark was immersed in water and boiled and the liquid used.[18] 137 278 757

31. Rocky Mountain Juniper, *Juniperus scopulorum* Sarg., (pu'nilp^{a}). The leaves, stems and berries were pounded together, then macerated in boiling water. When the concoction became lukewarm it was rubbed on the body to heal sores.

One or two of the bitter, dried berries were eaten for general illnesses. The berries were eaten by patients suffering from tuberculosis, also; or a liquor was made by boiling the berries, and taken.

The leaves were macerated in boiling water and the potion swallowed for any illness of an indeterminate nature.

32. Chittam, *Rhamnus purshiana* DC., (staptapsa'lu). The chittam bark was boiled and the liquor used as a cathartic.

33. Ocean Spray, *Holodiscus discolor* (Pursh) Maxim, (mətsmətsi'lp^{a}). The leaves were dried while green, then pulverized, and the powder used for healing sores.

34. Chaenactis, *Chaenactis Douglasii* (Hook.) H. & A., (tuptupula'u'ps, "spider grass"). The roots of this plant were used in the preparation of a preventative medicine. They were boiled and some of the liquid was swallowed by the surviving members of a family after the death of one, "to avoid contracting consumption."[19] [757]

35. Balsam Root, *Osmorhiza* sp., (ai'u').[20] The root was first roasted in ashes, then split open and the inner portion removed. This, in turn, was kneaded and then applied to sores, wounds, boils or bruises.

The tips of the roots were shredded and macerated in cold water. The concoction was drunk instead of water when a person was generally ill.

A medicine for washing the backs of horses when sore, or the body when scabby, was made by crushing the green roots and macerating them in water.

36. Pine, *Pinus* sp., (sun'tkulp^{a}). Pine pitch was applied to boils to bring them to a head.

37. An unidentified composite, (ntoqtoqui'nq^{a}). The leaves were immersed in water which was boiled until it became very dark in color. While still warm it was swallowed to overcome the common cold, or to increase the tone of the system. This medicine was often used for children.

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[18] For non-medicinal uses, see page 101, 104.

[19] These were the words of William Burke. I do not trust his explanation of the motivation here, although he insisted that he was certain of his information. I rather feel that he has substituted, although not consciously, the concrete concept of modern medicine (tubercular infection) for the more abstract "intrusion of evil spirits," and that the potion was used actually as a purgative. Cf. page 153.

[20] Identification not certain.

137 38. An umbelliferous species, (ȧlȧpi'spəs). Illnesses of an indeterminate or general
278 nature were treated with a potion made by boiling roots of this herb.

757 39. tcuqtcuqti'lpᵘ (unidentified). The roots of this plant were boiled with water for about an hour, and the liquor used for the treatment of syphilis. The potion was taken in the evening and early morning. Three doses were usually considered sufficient for a cure.

40. məsməsain'ps (unidentified). The potion made by boiling the roots of this herb was used for a variety of ailments. It was considered valuable for the treatment of tuberculosis, for arresting a hemorrhage and for curing gon-
[841] orrhea. Moreover, it was used by men to counteract the ill effects of inadvertently associating with a menstruating woman.[21]

41. tcɪstcu'slɪmilxᵘ, "rattle bush" (unidentified). The leaves of this plant were crushed and applied directly to sores; or they were immersed in a small amount of water and boiled, then applied.

42. qulqulɪmi'lpᵘ (unidentified). A strong medicine used for indeterminate illnesses was made by boiling the leaves and small branches of this bush for about a half hour.

43. xa'sxəs (unidentified). This is a small plant which was found in the mountains. Its tuberous root was dried, and portions of it chewed and swallowed to aid recovery from a cold.

[303] Due to the fragrant odor given off by the root, it was also used as a perfume. The root was rubbed on the face and clothing before attending a dance.

A small bit was sometimes pulverized and added to tobacco to add to the flavor.

MEASUREMENTS AND DIRECTIONS

805 The Sanpoil calendar contained twelve months, each of which began with the new moon (soɖe'imən t̓i'taxᵘ), "the moon stands up." The solstices were observed and the month count usually began with the month in which the winter solstice occurred. This was not a formal "beginning of the year," however. Such a concept did not exist. Following are the month names and translations:

kumi'k̓utən.....	"time that it snows"
kt̓sa't̓sa'ɫtɑ'n.....	"time that it gets cold"
spa'kət̓.....	"time that it is white"
skənɪ'ɣumən.....	"time that buttercups bloom"
kəpɑtctɫtɑ'n	"time that the leaves come out"
kti·'xumən.....	"time of beginning of everything (activities of plant world)"
kəmi'kto'tən.....	"time for gathering sunflower seed"

[21] Cf. page 134.

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ki'i'ātən	"time that si'i'a are ripe"
qlaxqtaxtɑ'n	"time that chokecherries are ripe"
səla·'mp̓	"time of wilting (withering, dying)"
skəlu'ɪ'c	"time the white (silver) salmon run"
ska'a'i	(?)[22]

The seasons were determined by the solstices and the equinoxes.

ske·'pɪtcᵘ	spring
stca·kumɪnu'x	[illegible]er
ka'a'ilᵘ or ska'a'i	autumn
si'ist'kᵘ	winter

Time of day was expressed in relation principally to the position of the sun. Each day was called naqsxaia'ɫənxᵘ, "one sun."

tcənpa·q'tci'n	"sky becoming white"
xuɫlapu'lau	"morning"
sɫkukuɫla'p'	"sun just appearing"
stcɪnu'i's	(a position in the sky) 8:30-9:00
kikəntoxoxqi'n	"nearly noon," 11:00-11:30
əntoxoxqi'n	"noon"
nu'utsɫkaqi'n	(a position in the sky) 2:00
ma'ā'n	(a position in the sky) 4:00-5:00
tɫkəqa·'tu's	"nearly sunset"
ksa·γu'səs	"sunset"
qa'k'səs	"almost dark"
unəququa'a'tcs	"night"
tuxui'us	"midnight"

Four directional points were recognized, the same in general as the ones we isolate. The zenith and nadir were also named. 823

cixumu's; cixumsu'la'	"direction of the cold country"; "direction from which the cold wind comes"; north
stcaxa'ɫkᵘ; kəlteɪ'xtsəxtɑmxula	"direction of the warm country"; "direction from which the warm wind comes"; south
sq̓ɪtɫpɑtā'n	"direction from which the sun rises"
sq̓əlɪxutā'n	"direction in which the sun sets"
kɪlɪstɪkəmā·'skət	zenith
kɪlɪkəli·xu't	nadir
nəqa·qeu's	center, middle

[22] Covington translated this term as "fall"; he could give no literal translation.

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821 The winds:

uxumu's.....	"north wind"
sqwa"ats.....	"south wind"
scuxuli'k^{u}.....	"whirlwind"
sk̓ə'mpəmm'tcu't.....	"storm," "heavy wind," "fog" (?)

822 Specific distance and quantity terms were few. Such ideas were usually conveyed by comparisons with known standards, by time required to travel and other like means. Following are a few commonly used measures:

k̓i'k̓at.....	"short distance"
luku·'t, qumi·'ut.....	"long distance"
kuk̓wi·'na.....	"small," "little," "few"
xui'i't.....	"large," "big," "many"

[802] The decimal system was the basis for numeration.

COLOR NAMES AND CLASSIFICATIONS

125 822 In obtaining the following color data I made use of the Bradley standardized pigment colors, since this system provides accurate reproductions of color scales of which the standards have been definitely located in the spectrum by their wave lengths. It is thus possible to use arbitrary color names without any ambiguity, since the designations are always referable to their particular positions in the spectrum by their wave lengths. This does not hold for the grays and the extra-spectral colors (violet-red and red-violet). Neutral gray, of course, indicates a definite quality but even here there may be an infinite variety of shades from white to black. Therefore it has seemed wise to adopt the Bradley designations and standards for the colors not found in the spectrum, as well. In this section wherever I make use of a color name in Englihs it may be understood to refer to the Bradley system.

The spectrum scales contain ninety samples, divided into five groups of eighteen each. Each group runs from violet-red through the spectrum to red-violet. One series consists of standard or full colors, two of shades,[23] and two of tints.[24] Of these series I used only the standards, shade No. 2, and tint No. 2, since they were quite adequate for obtaining the native classifications. In addition to these I utilized the eight shades of gray, or sixty-two samples in all. These were cut from the color card and presented to the informants in random order, so that no distortion of classification might result from proximity of colors or serial arrangement. The outcome is clearly shown in the accompanying chart (Fig. 23).

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[23]Or full colors as seen in the shadow.
[24]Or full colors as they appear when "mixed" with white.

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Wave length in ten millionths of a millimeter	Bradley designation	Native Terms		
		Standard	Shade No. 2	Tint No. 2
	Red-violet[35]	xɛ'n	qwa'i	pa·'[37]
	Violet-red[35]		xɛ'n	xɛ'n
6571	Red	kwɪ'l	tlka'tlka	
	Orange-red		kwɪ'l	
	Red-orange			
6085	Orange	kuɣa'i	pu·'m[36]	pu·'m[36]
	Yellow-orange			kuɣa'i
	Orange-yellow			
5793	Yellow		qwi'n	pu·'m[36]
	Green-yellow			pa·'[37]
	Yellow-green	qwi'n		
5164	Green			
	Blue-green			
	Green-blue	qwa'i[35]	qwa'i[35]	
4695	Blue			qwa'i[35]
	Violet-blue			pa·'[37]
	Blue-violet			
4210	Violet			

FIG. 23. Color names and classifications.

822

The standard colors constitute an unbroken series from one end of the spectrum to the other.[39] The native classifications are of much the same nature as our own, except that there is no term in the native nomenclature corresponding to our violet or orange. The latter is divided between the reds and yellows. The violets

[35]Non-spectral colors.
[36]Translated "buckskin."
[37]The term applied to the grays.
[38]Probably the diminutive of black.
[39]That is, no one term is applied to two non-contiguous segments of the spectrum.

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are grouped with the blues and called qwa'i, a term which may be etymologically equivalent to "dark colors," since it seems to be a diminutive of the term for black, which is ḳwa'i. There is no confusion between the greens and blues, or a combining of these concepts, as is so often the case with primitive peoples. It is interesting to note that the two extra-spectral colors, red-violet and violet-red, are classed together and separate from the rest of the series, (xɛ'n).

To be accurately represented the colors on the chart should be arranged in a circle. If such were the case the shades, too, would show as a continuous series instead of qwa'i appearing once at the top and again at the bottom of the list. If my analysis of the term qwa'i is correct, (that is, "dark color"), it is quite understandable that red-violet, which as a standard color was called xɛ'n, should become qwa'i as a shade, for the shade is markedly darker. Another noticeable feature of the shade series is the designation of red by a new term, tlka'tlxa, and the fact that the term is applied exclusively to this color.[30] The word ḳu'm, which means "buckskin," makes its appearance in this series also. Evidently certain colors which correspond to the various shades of smoked buckskin[31] have been singled out of the total range and have come to be designated by this term. The shade of yellow is included with the greens but this not unusual, for the distinctive quality of yellow is almost entirely lost in the shade.

In the tint series ḳu'm is the name given for two tints (orange and yellow) but is not applied to the tints intermediate between these two. This may be explained by the fact that smoked buckskin is either left quite light in color (yellow) or is twice smoked to deepen the color (orange), but is seldom finished in the intermediate tones. The xɛ'n group in the tint series includes all of the spectrum reds, whereas in the standard series only extra-spectral colors are designated by this name. However, the latter colors both contain red, so it is apparently a subtle combination of tone and shade that determines this classification.

The outstanding feature of the classifications of the tints is the inclusion with the grays of a large proportion of this group. All of the grays[32] are classed under the designation pa'', and in addition this term includes all of the tints from green-yellow, through the greens and blues, to red-violet, inclusive, with the single exception of the tint of pure blue which retains the same name as the standard. This exception is no doubt due to the fairly intense chromatic quality retained by the tint of blue as compared with adjacent colors whose characters are more or less lost in the tints.

The native term for white is pa''lk, to which "color" the word is applied exclusively. Black, likewise, is known by an exclusive designation, mentioned above, ḳwa'i.

It is true, of course, that pure spectrum colors are seldom seen in nature, except in the rainbow. However, the range represented by the standards, shades and tints is sufficiently wide that most of the "natural" colors are closely enough

[30] My informant translated the word into English as "brown."
[31] Unsmoked buckskin is pure white.
[32] The eight Bradley grays are light and dark neutral gray, light and dark green gray, light and dark warm gray, and light and dark cool gray.

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approached for present purposes. Certainly the native nomenclature is indicated in its entirety, and I feel that the classifications have suffered very little as a result of the artificiality of the materials used. 822

We have seen where the name for a material object, buckskin, has crept into the color scheme, and has more or less distorted it. This tendency to objective reference is more marked in the case of animals, for which there exists an entirely exclusive series of color names. The designations applied to horses alone form a list practically as long as the group of more universal terms which we have just considered.[33] Following are the designations recalled by my informant: gray (horse), tɛe'lps; buckskin, tipa'lux"; spotted, ma'man; pinto, kei'lux"; mouse colored, tipo'kulux"; and tan, kpi'kulups. 822 192

[33] Those skeptical of the flexibility and plasticity of primitive languages will please note that here is an instance where a primitive group met a new situation (the coming of the horse), by incorporating into its language an entirely new series of words, in this case color terms, immediately upon feeling the need. 192

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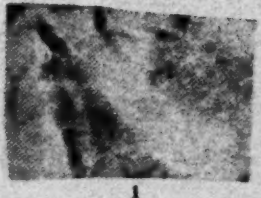

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PLATE I. (A) Spokane man's shirt of buckskin. (B) Cradle. (C) Moccasin and pattern: (1) main body, (2, 3) inserts, (4) ankle flap, (5) inner tongue, (6) outer tongue. (Washington State Museum; A, 2-11783; B, 2-158, C, 2-159).

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish Sanpoil

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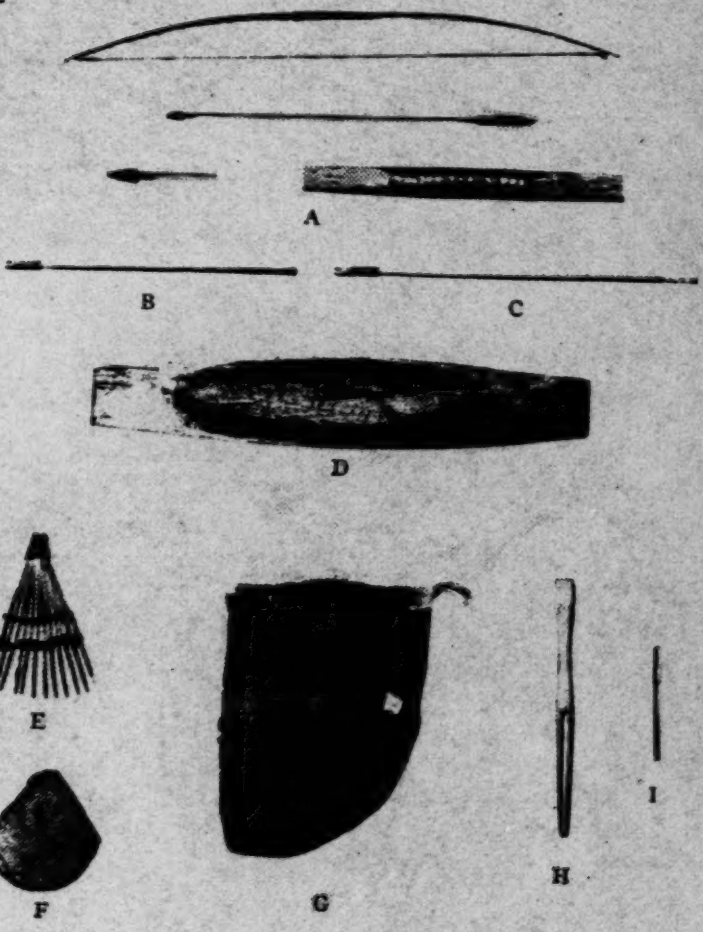

PLATE 2. (A) Plain bow and arrow with enlargements of grip and point. (B) Arrow used in bow and arrow game. (C) Arrow used for birds. (D) Model of shovel-nose canoe. (E) Spokane comb, identical in type with Sanpoil. (F) Skin scraper of granitic schist. (G) Chelan hemp storage bag such as those of the Sanpoil. (H) Wooden tweezers. (I) Model of tweezers of another type. (Washington State Museum: A, 2-154, 2-157; B, 2-11710; C, 2-11709; D, 2-154; E, 2-297; F, 2-162; G, 2351-12; H, 2-155; I, 2-160.

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A

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C

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PLATE 3. (A) Frame of sweat lodge. Note fir boughs and stones (B) Small fish trap on the Sanpoil River. (C) Dug-out shovel-nose canoe, side view. (D) Same canoe, end view. Note repaired ends.

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish Sanpoil

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PLATE 4. (A) Site of the principal Sanpoil village, at the mouth of the Sanpoil River, opposite fig. A, with the Sanpoil River in the foreground. (B) The Columbia River in the background. (C) Lake Auxum (Buffalo Lake) with the Sanpoil mountains (D) Modern camp circle at the present village of Nespelem.

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish Sanpoil

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A

B

C

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PLATE 5. (A) Skin dressing frame. (B) Coiled baskets. (C) Skin smoking tripod (at left). (D) Mortar and pestles.